

THE EXTENT OF THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
FIRST YEAR MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Title: The Extent of the Political Socialization of First Year Memorial University Students.

The study investigated the extent of political socialization of a group of first year students at Memorial University, and the association of the indices of political socialization to selected demographic factors. The indices of political socialization used were political efficacy, political cynicism, sense of citizen duty and political participation. The demographic factors investigated were age, sex, socioeconomic status, size of home community and religion.

The study was conducted by means of a questionnaire. The scales of sense of citizen duty, political cynicism and political efficacy were compiled mainly from items drawn from the literature on political socialization. The items on participation included both actual political participation, and intended future political participation.

The questionnaire was administered by the author to a sample of first year students, and the data obtained was coded and analysed using the IBM 360/40 computer. The frequency of responses were obtained and contingency tables constructed. In order to test the hypotheses of the study, Chi Square values were calculated.

The political efficacy of the students in the study was generally low. Statistically significant associations with socioeconomic status, and community size were obtained. The students generally scored high on the political cynicism scale and no significant associations with any demographic factors were found. It was postulated that political

cynicism may exist as a community norm, influenced by the political milieu of the province. The students scored highly on the sense of citizen duty scale revealing a high sense of political obligation. Item analysis of this scale revealed a possible change in philosophy of young people when compared to results of the original use of the scale. The analysis of the items pertaining to participation indicated that the students were nearly all prepared to participate in low levels of political activity, but not at higher levels of involvement. The intended political participation was found to be significantly associated to previous experience in school government, as well as political efficacy. From this study a number of recommendations for further research were made.

THE EXTENT OF THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
FIRST YEAR MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Education
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In Partial Fulfillment
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Master of Education



by
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

One of the major problems facing administrators in education today is the increasing area of confrontation between students and the establishment. This area ranges from simple demands for increased decision making powers on the one hand to violent political protest on the other.

Although as Webster¹ points out, the first student revolt to occur on a Canadian campus took place at Queen's in 1929, it has been in the last decade that an unprecedented growth of militancy and protest has spread throughout North American campuses. In the United States the confrontation between students and the establishment has been brought sharply into focus by the Kent State shootings, and the preservation of "law and order on the campuses" has served as the basis for electoral platforms.

The dissatisfaction of students with their role in policy making is no longer confined to university level. A study conducted by Life magazine² in one hundred schools in the United States revealed that 60 percent of students wanted a greater say in many areas of policy making. That a confrontation exists is highlighted in the same study by the fact that only 20 percent of parents and 35 percent of teachers felt participation was important, as compared with 54 percent of the students.

The growth of student unrest has led to much discussion as to the

¹T.S. Webster, in an address ("Student Unrest") at an Ontario Secondary School Principal's Course, July 1968.

²"What People Think About Their High Schools," Life, 66 (19): 24-25, May 16th, 1969.

apparent alienation of students. To some educators the root of the problem is in the educational process,³ and great effort is being made in providing a more relevant curriculum. However, the values of young people today appear to be in contrast to those of the older generation and consequently there has been an increase in the attention paid to the agencies involved in transmitting the values of society to young people, as well as to the process whereby political learning takes place. "The learning of the norms attitudes and behaviour accepted and practised by the ongoing political system"⁴ is termed Political Socialization.

This study was concerned with an investigation of selected aspects of the political socialization of a group of first year university students at Memorial University. A knowledge and understanding of the political socialization process, particularly of university students, should prove helpful to educators in understanding students and shaping policies towards them.

General Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate the degree to which a group of first year students had accepted and norms and behaviour of our political system. The study attempted to discover to what extent the students perceived that the individual can influence the political system, and their desire to participate in it. The study also attempted to discover whether these students regarded politics and politicians with respect or if they had,

³N.P. Atkins, "What Do They Want," Educational Leadership, 27: 439, February 1970.

⁴R. Sigel, "Assumptions about the Learning of Political Values," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 361: 2, September 1965.

as members of the younger generation, rejected the political establishment. This field of study is termed political socialization, and the specific indices investigated were: political cynicism, political efficacy, the concept of citizen duty and participation in different levels of politics. It is to be expected that the manifestations of the attitudes listed above, will in part be shaped by the social environment of the students. Therefore attention is paid, in this study, to specific demographic factors, and their association to the indices of political socialization, for "demographic changes are viewed as part of, and as both cause and effect of the social environment."⁵

The sample investigated in the study was drawn from a population of first year students at Memorial University. The students, both male and female, were drawn from both urban and rural populations and from a wide variety of religious and educational backgrounds.

The Problem

1. To identify the extent of political efficacy, political cynicism, sense of citizen duty and participation among a sample of first year university students in Newfoundland.

2. To explore the relationships of some of the above dimensions of political socialization to relevant demographic factors for the sample of first year university students.

Sub-Problems

The main problem to be investigated involves the investigation of the following sub problems:

⁵D. Kirk, "The Field of Demography," International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1968), Volume XIV, pp. 342 - 347.

1. To identify the extent of political efficacy and to explore the relationship of this dimension of political socialization to the following demographic factors: age, sex, religion, socioeconomic status and community size for the sample of first year university students.

2. To identify the extent of political cynicism and to explore the relationship of this dimension of political socialization to the following demographic factors: age, sex, religion, socioeconomic status and community size for the sample of first year university students.

3. To identify the extent of sense of citizen duty, and to explore the relationship of this dimension of political socialization to the following demographic factors: age, sex, religion, socioeconomic status and community size for the sample of first year university students.

4. To identify the extent of past participation in school government and intended political participation among a sample of first year university students at Memorial University. Further to explore the relationship of those dimensions to the demographic characteristics: age and community size, and to the political attitudes of political cynicism and political efficacy.

HYPOTHESES

The sub problems listed above focus on specific relationships to be investigated. These sub problems are restated as null hypotheses.

(A) Hypotheses Concerning Political Efficacy and Demographic Factors

A₁ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of boys and girls and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

A₂ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students of different religions and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

A₃ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

A₄ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students from different socio-economic backgrounds and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

A₅ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

(B) Hypotheses Concerning Political Cynicism and Demographic Factors

B₁ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of boys and girls and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

B₂ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

B₃ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of students of different religions and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

B₄ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of students from different socio-economic background and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

B₅ There will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

(C) Hypotheses Concerning Sense of Citizen Duty and Demographic Factors

C₁ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of boys and girls and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

C₂ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

C₃ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students of different religions and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

C₄ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

C₅ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

(D) Hypotheses Concerning Participation and Demographic Factors

D₁ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

D₂ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of

students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

(E) Hypotheses Concerning Participation and Political Efficacy and Political Cynicism

E₁ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of students exhibiting different feelings of political efficacy and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

E₂ There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of students exhibiting different feelings of political cynicism and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

LIMITATIONS

1. The study is limited to an investigation of four specific demographic factors - namely, sex, religion, socioeconomic status, and size of community as they relate to political socialization.

2. The study is limited to an investigation of the following aspects of political socialization: political efficacy, political cynicism, sense of citizen duty, and political participation.

3. No effort will be made to explore the strength of the relationships and the potency of variables.

4. The sample of students used in this study was not representative of the first year entry during 1970-71, and as a consequence the results obtained and conclusions drawn from

this study cannot be imputed to the whole population of first year university students in Memorial University.

DELIMITATIONS

Since the study does not purport to investigate the variables of I.Q., family background, peer group influence and personality and their influence on political socialization, the delimitation placed on the study by excluding these factors should be considered in interpreting the findings of the study and the conclusions to be drawn from it.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Political Socialization

Massialas indicates how the concept of political socialization has developed from the interest in "citizenship" which dates back to the writings of Plato. He defines the concept thus:

"The process by which a person internalizes the norms and values of the political system, or, to give a slightly different definition, it is the process through which political and social values are transmitted from one generation to the next."⁶

Greenstein further expands this concept:

"Viewed this way political socialization would encompass all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning which affects political behaviour such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics."⁷

⁶B.G. Massialas, Education and the Political System, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, p. 19, 1969.

⁷F. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1968), Vol. XIV, p. 555.

Political Efficacy

Sense of political efficacy may be defined as the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact on the political process.⁸

Political Cynicism

The extent to which people hold Politicians and Politics in disrepute: the extent to which these words symbolize something negative rather than positive.⁹

Sense of Citizen Duty

The feeling that oneself and others ought to participate in the political process, regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worthwhile or efficacious.¹⁰

Participation

In this study the term participation concerned two categories; first the previous participation in school government, and secondly the intended future political participation of the students.

⁸A. Campbell, et al, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 187.

⁹R.E. Agger, M.N. Goldstein, and S.A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics 23: 477-506, August, 1961.

¹⁰Campbell, et al., op. cit., p. 194.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A democracy is only healthy in so far as its people are able to influence the political system and are sufficiently involved to wish to do so. Apathy can be described as the "Twentieth Century Malaise," and the root factors which determine whether one individual is a political participant and another is politically apathetic should be of interest not only to politicians, but also to educators. From the data gathered in this study educators should be more aware of the importance of school councils and school governments, in determining the extent to which students will participate in the political system, and may shape their policies accordingly.

Spreading student unrest has focussed fresh attention onto the political orientations of students. Information available from this study, on the intention and desire of students to participate in political systems may help educators minimize the threat of direct confrontation between students and establishment in an educational setting.

Since the lowering of the voting age a great deal of attention has been given to the political attitudes, interest, and knowledge of young people. Political parties are expending sizable resources in determining the potential voting behaviour of young people, and it is to be expected that a large portion of any political party's election campaign budget will be assigned to attracting the young voter. Although the sample of the study is not claimed to be representative of the young people in the province, data arising from it may be of use to politicians.

Information regarding the alienation of the students from politics and politicians, as well as the intent of the students to become involved at all levels of political activity, may serve as a guide in planning both the nature and the intensity of any political campaign.

To the extent that any discipline grows as its body of knowledge expands, this study, carried out in a Newfoundland setting, may make a small contribution to the field of political socialization.

learning experiences. Second, the term "citizenship" which itself was the focal point of early writers was used ambiguously. On the one hand it represented a process whereby an individual came to assimilate certain values, while on the other it represented a "desirable human quality." Third, the concept of "citizenship" often simply represented a list of basic human qualities, which themselves tended to be ambiguous. Indeed as Massialas² points out such a concept of a good citizen automatically excluded political activists. Fourth, the earlier citizenship studies produced by early writers in the field had no theoretical basis and often suffered from poor design.

Emerging from these early studies has been a more sharply defined field of study termed political socialization. In the most general sense "political socialization refers to the way in which society transmits political orientations, knowledge, attitudes or norms and values - from generation to generation."³ In this field of study the accent is on the process of political learning both informal and formal, and the impact of a variety of mediating factors in the process. Dawson and Prewitt⁴ point out that the new emphasis is still in the tradition of scholarly inquiry in the field of political training, although it is clearly influenced by the contemporary emphasis on "democratic ideology and mass

²Ibid., p. 20.

³D. Easton and J. Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361, pp. 40-57, September 1965.

⁴R.E. Dawson and K. Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), p. 7.

participation in politics."⁵ The contemporary emphasis on political learning has resulted in an increase in empirical research on the part played by the varying socializing agencies, and on the impact of various sociological factors in the process.

AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

Family

Although the family institution is in the process of transition it is still one of the primary socializing agencies in our society. Dawson and Prewitt⁶ stress that it differs from other primary relationships such as peer groups in that its structure in the parent-child situation is essentially hierarchical, and it is this hierarchical structure which emphasizes its importance. It is in the family situation that the child assimilates a wealth of information about his expected behaviour in society, and it is in the family that his self concept begins to develop. It is to be expected that in the house the child will receive his first contact with political attitudes and orientations, and it is to be expected that as Berelson et al⁷ indicate the family plays a primary role in determining political behaviour.

Research has shown considerable congruence between parents and

⁵Ibid., p. 7.

⁶Ibid., pp. 105-106.

⁷B. Berelson, P. Lazarsfeld and W. McPhuee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 89.

children with regard to partisan attachments. Campbell et al⁸ point out that three out of four American voters support the same political party as their parents. Herbert Hyman⁹ in a concise summary of the literature relating to family role in the socialization process shows that considerable positive correlations exist between parents and children regarding their political orientation. However he does not overemphasize the influence of the parent:

"The almost complete absence of negative correlations provides considerable evidence against the theory that political attitudes are formed generally in terms of rebellion and opposition to parents. While positive, the moderate magnitude of the correlations, however, leads to the formulation that parents are only one of the many agents of such socialization and that their influence is not that great."¹⁰

Jenning and Niemi¹¹ indicate however that parent-child agreement differs widely depending on the values considered. It may well be that as Hyman¹² points out social climate is a relevant factor in the parent child congruence, since the only two studies he reports with negative correlations are those relating to attitudes on war. If social climate is an intervening factor it is likely that at the present time the generation gap may indicate a considerable divergence between parents and

⁸A. Campbell et al, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960), pp. 146-149.

⁹H. Hyman, Political Socialization (New York: The Free Press, 1959), Ch. 4.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹M.K. Jennings in a lecture ("Family Structure and Transmission of Political Values") to the A.P.S.A., New York, 1966.

¹²Hyman, op. cit., p. 54.

children, and that the effect of the parents' role in the socialization process may be less than the early studies reviewed by Hyman indicated.

Evidence relating to the role of the family in the development of the individual's political participation indicates that the socialization process is complex. Stark¹³ indicates a differential effect between boys and girls, and participation shown by boys was not significantly related to parental activity, although it was for girls. Almond and Verba¹⁴ in a five nation study (United States, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy and Mexico) examined the effect of participation in family decisions and sense of political competence. They found a connection between participation in family decisions and sense of political competence, although this connection is modified to extinction by increased education.

Langton¹⁵ in a Jamaican study, focussed attention on the structure of the family and the socialization process. He found that children from maternal families have more authoritarian attitudes than children from nuclear families, and are less politically interested and efficacious. He also found that males tended to be affected to a greater extent than females by the father's absence from the home, again an indication that although the family's role in the socialization process is fundamental it is also a highly complex one.

¹³P. Stark, "Some Determinants of Political Activity Among Liberals" (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), pp. 28, 42-47.

¹⁴G. Almond and S. Verba, Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965).

¹⁵K. Langton, "The Political Socialization Process: The Case of Secondary School Students in Jamaica" (unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1965), pp. 115-117.

School

Not only has the school in recent times been brought more to the fore as an agency of socialization but also the emphasis has moved from the period of adolescence to the elementary school child, for as Easton and Hess observe:

By the time the child has completed elementary school, many basic political attitudes and values have become firmly established
. . . The truly formative years of the maturing member of a political system would seem to be the years between the ages of 3 and 13. It is this period when rapid growth and development in political orientations take place, as in many areas of non political socialization.¹⁶

However it must not be thought that after this age the child is impervious to the socialization process, for Newcomb¹⁷ showed that political values can be altered after this age. According to Sigel¹⁸ educational institutions facilitate the socialization process through two types of learning: deliberate learning, the result of conscious teaching and incidental learning. Classes in civics or government obviously constitute deliberate learning, while incidental learning encompasses observation of parents or teachers and conversations with peers. The evidence of the impact of the different dimensions associated with the school on the political socialization process is inconclusive. In discussing the effect of specific political content in the educational curriculum

¹⁶D. Easton and R. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Political Opinion and Electoral Behaviour, ed. E.C. Dreyer and W.A. Rosenbaum (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), p. 156.

¹⁷T.M. Newcomb, "Interdependence of Attitudes and Environments: Long Range Studies" an address delivered to the 1963 Convention of the American Psychology Association, Philadelphia, September 1963.

¹⁸R. Sigel, Learning About Politics (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 311-317.

Coleman concludes "the impact of manifest political socialization in schools is highly variable, and depends not only on the content but also upon the particular context and the strength of reinforcing or negating experiences outside the school."¹⁹ Where the school is separated to an extent from the surrounding environment then the socialization effects of the school may be enlarged. The fact that the boarding school system of education in England perpetuates the class structure and supplies the majority of political leaders supports this point. Evidence on the effect of school-based extracurricular activities also tends to be limited and inconclusive. Ziblatt²⁰ found that it was the social trust which resulted from an integration into the high school social status which was linked with positive attitudes towards politics.

Without doubt the social environment of the school is one of the more potent agencies in the political socialization process. As Dawson and Prewitt note on the American busing controversy:

Both opponents and proponents of busing base their arguments on the premise that the composition of the student body has consequences for social and political learning.²¹

The social and political consequences of school composition have long been recognised and have often been used for good or ill in attempting to differentiate various groups in society. Thus just as

¹⁹J.S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), p. 23.

²⁰D. Ziblatt, "High School Extra Curricular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361: 31, September 1965.

²¹Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 167.

apartheid in South Africa achieves its political aims, so does the Roman Catholic Church achieve its religious aims by selective education.

Peer Group

The erosion of the hierarchical parent-child relationship characteristic of the present age amplifies the importance of the peer group as an agent in the socialization process. Riesman²² indicates that peer groups are displacing parents and others in authority as leading socialization agents. The potency of peer groups as socializing agents stems according to Dawson and Prewitt from two factors:

"1. The extensive access of peer groups to their numbers and 2. the emotional laden personal relationships that exist between them."²³

Feldman and Newcomb²⁴ in an analysis of the research on peer group influence in a college setting stress that the peer group can serve as a change agent or an agent to conserve attitudes and values already held:

"Individual students are influenced by the total body of their campus peers, which provides both standards for self judgement and norms of proper attitudes and behaviour. Close friends commonly share one or more important values, and their impacts upon one another may represent either value change or simply mutual selection on the basis of pre-existing agreement. Even in the latter case, for each of the friends there is apt to be reinforcement if not accentuation of the attitudes and values they share. By

²²D. Riesman, D. Reuel and N. Glazer, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

²³Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 124.

²⁴K.A. Feldman and T. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students (San Francisco: Josey Bass Inc., 1970).

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a summary of related literature which provides a background for the present study. Particular attention in the summary is paid to the agents of socialization and to the demographic factors investigated in the study: age, sex, religion, socioeconomic status and size of home community and their impact on the political socialization process.

RELATED LITERATURE

Although the study of political socialization has received considerable attention in recent years, the roots of the interest in preparing individuals for participation in citizenship affairs dates back to the writings of Plato. In his treatise The Republic Plato was concerned largely with the cultivation of values in individuals, suitable to maintain the stability of the state. Massialas¹ in discussing the evolution of the study of "political socialization" points out that the difficulties in providing answers to the questions raised by the early classical writers stemmed from the following points. First, the assumption that "civic learning is acquired deliberately through instruction in the school" and a neglect of the impact of informal

¹B.G. Massialas, Education and the Political System (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. Inc., 1969), pp. 19-20.

the same token, different sets of friends may account for the fact, that homogeneity of values and attitudes does not invariably or even routinely increase between freshman and senior years."²⁵

It is apparent that the structure of the peer group will be a deciding factor in the impact of the peer group in the socializing process. Langton²⁶ shows the importance of peer groups in reducing or perpetuating class cleavage in a society. In a Jamaican study he found that students with a working class background in a homogeneous-class peer group tended to reinforce the political and economic attitudes of their class, while students who identified with a heterogeneous class peer group were socialized into the political norms of the higher classes.

Mass Media

The volume of messages an individual receives has risen exponentially in the last decade, and the role of mass media in the socialization process has been given considerable attention. Dawson and Prewitt suggest there are four observations relevant to the role of the mass media:

First, more often than not the media acts as transmitters of political cues which are originated by other agencies. Second, the information carried by mass media goes through a two-step flow. Third, the media tends to reinforce existing political orientations rather than create new ones. Fourth, the messages of the mass media are received and interpreted in a social setting, and in the context of socially conditioned predispositions.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., p. 248.

²⁶Langton, op. cit.

²⁷Dawson and Prewitt, op. cit., p. 197.

Rieselbach²⁸ agrees with the general observations of Prewitt and Dawson, and feels that due to "selective perception the influence of the media in general is that of a reinforcer." However it appears that the media may have a greater potential with young children. Certainly the success of the "Captain Cleveland" show²⁹ in spreading civic awareness among children appears to indicate a potential for socialization.

MEDIATING FACTORS IN THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Sex

The fact that differences in political behaviour attributable to sex differences occur has long been recognised, and has long influenced the decision making process of political parties. Miller³⁰ in discussing the American scene notes the lower participation of women in political activity, and attributes this to differing educational opportunities, and assigned family role. Miller³¹ also notes that "the suffragettes' desired role for emancipated womanhood is still not realized and not wanted by many women." The five nation study of Almond and Verba³²

²⁸L.N. Rieselbach, The Behavioural Approach to the Study of Politics: An Overview (the High School Curriculum Centre in Government, Indiana University, May 1969), p. 50.

²⁹"Captain Cleveland," Television program introduced by Cleveland Mayor, Carl Stokes.

³⁰W.E. Miller, "The Political Behaviour of the Electorate," Political Opinion and Electoral Behaviour, ed. E.C. Dreyer and W.A. Rosenbaum (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 88-89.

³¹Ibid., p. 89.

³²Almond and Verba, op. cit., Ch. 13.

indicate that male-female differences in political attitudes are less in the United States than in other countries in the study.

Both Hyman³³ and Greenstein³⁴ summarize the findings with regard to politically relevant sex differences among children, boys generally showing more interest and knowledge of matters pertaining to politics. Greenstein³⁵ casts doubt on theories that sex differences with regard to political behaviour will disappear in the near future, as the sex roles change. However Easton and Dennis,³⁶ in their comprehensive study of children and politics, although finding sex differences as early as grade 2 find them small and without "a simple pattern." The interpretation of these small differences for future generations of the electorate is not clear "such minor differences may reflect as much a long term lessening of politico-cultural sexual differentiation as its continuation."³⁷

Socioeconomic Status

Generally social status is determined on the basis of three factors: education, occupation and income, and various researchers have compiled indices of social status based on these criteria. However as Milbraith points out, "no matter how class is measured, studies consistently

³³Hyman, op. cit., p. 22.

³⁴F.I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 111-118.

³⁵Ibid., p. 126.

³⁶D. Easton and J. Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1969), p. 342.

³⁷Ibid., p. 343.

show that higher class persons are more likely to participate in politics than lower-class persons."³⁸

Hess and Torney³⁹ indicate as would be expected that differences stemming from social status are present in grade school, and that children from low status homes are retarded in the socialization process. This, as Hess and Torney point out, "presents a serious problem for the society and confronts the school with a difficult task in civic education."⁴⁰

Urban-Rural Differences

The evidence for differences stemming from urban or rural environment is ample but the differences observed are not open to simple interpretation. Miller⁴¹ presents data indicating that rural residents were less liable to vote than city or town dwellers. A major factor in the differences attributable to rural-urban background is the difference in communication and isolation, as Campbell notes in discussing political interest and involvement of rural inhabitants in the United States. "Despite the widespread ownership of automobile and television sets by rural people, farm life in America is not only physically but socially remote."⁴² Milbraith⁴³ focusses attention on another reason for differences

³⁸L.W. Milbraith, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 116.

³⁹R. Hess and J. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Ch. 7.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 171.

⁴¹Miller, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

⁴²A. Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, VI (fasc. 1-2), p. 9-21.

⁴³Milbraith, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

in participation in politics related to urban-rural environment. He points out that, where a primary economy exists, women are more closely home orientated and participate far less politically than men. However, where secondary or tertiary economies exist this difference is strongly reduced. Milbraith⁴⁴ also notes a number of other studies where rural voters are as active or more active in political participation. Thus, as Miller notes "the population size of one's place of residence is no certain key to whether or how a man will vote."⁴⁵

Religion

The majority of studies concerned with religious affiliation and politics have been concerned with partisan affiliation. Milbraith summarises the United States findings with regard to interdenominational differences as "Jews are slightly more active than Protestants."⁴⁶ Hess and Torney found the only differences, in the extensive study they reported on, were in party affiliation and candidate preferences. They conclude "there are few main differences among children from different religious groups in general political orientations and attitudes."⁴⁷

However a number of studies have shown that church affiliates and regular attenders are more likely to vote than non attenders or non-affiliates.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 130.

⁴⁵Miller, op. cit., p. 91.

⁴⁶Milbraith, op. cit., p. 137; see also Miller, op. cit., p. 101.

⁴⁷Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 117.

⁴⁸Milbraith, op. cit., p. 137.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND

This chapter provides a description of the methodology of the study, and also presents relevant background data concerning Newfoundland, and the sample of students used in the study.

I METHODOLOGY

The Measuring Instrument

The measuring instrument in this study consisted of a questionnaire containing both open and closed ended items. Some of the items were drawn from the existing literature on political socialization while others were designed especially for the purpose of the study.¹

The population of the study was drawn from the first year students at Memorial University. The first year full time enrollment for the academic year 1970-71 consisted of 1399 male and 914 female students. However, this number is enlarged by the large number of part-time students who take first year courses, the exact number of which was not obtainable for the Registrar's Office.

The majority of first year students will have completed grade XI in the Newfoundland high school system. However in the first year there are approximately 100 students who are enrolled under "mature student" regulations. The exact number of these students was not obtainable from the Registrar's Office.

¹For details of the sources of the items used on the various political indices, and the method of calculating the scores, see Chapters IV, V, and VI.

The Sample

The questionnaire was administered by the author to as many sections of students to which he could gain access. In all 892 questionnaires were administered of which approximately 300 were given to students enrolled in a science course for primary and elementary students. The other questionnaires were administered to students enrolled in first year Biology, English, and Political Science courses. The sample contains a higher percentage of students enrolled in the Primary and Elementary Education programme, approximately 32%, then a representative sample of first year students would contain, i.e. 17%.

From the completed questionnaires a sample of 300 was drawn using random number tables. This procedure was adopted as opposed to using the total completed questionnaires in order to facilitate the coding of the open ended items. All of the 300 sample questionnaires were usable.

Analysis of Data

The data from the questionnaire was first coded and then punched onto IBM Cards. The data was then analysed using the IBM 360/40 computer. The frequency of responses were obtained and contingency tables constructed. In order to test the hypotheses Chi Square values were calculated. Where necessary, categories were collapsed in order to avoid too many low observed frequency values.

It has been convention in research to set an arbitrary level of significance, at which hypotheses are accepted or rejected. While the researcher states his intention to follow convention and work at the 0.05 level of significance, he is aware of the arbitrary nature of this decision and has followed the accepted practice of reporting the probability levels of his findings.

outside of urban centres and suburban fringes³. The major source of livelihood to the rural population was the inshore fishery. However in recent times the failure of the fishery has led to a decline in many of the previously prosperous fishing communities. The decline in many communities has led a a resettlement program instituted by the provincial government, whereby small non-viable communities can be moved to growth centres. Thus although the number of small communities is decreasing, there are still many which are virtually isolated from the outside world, served by inadequate roads or in some cases accessible only by boat. In many communities communications with the outside world are negligible. Parts of Labrador are not even served by radio, and newspapers, when they arrive, may be many days late.

Family structure in Newfoundland differs somewhat from the rest of Canada. The average family has one more child than an average family in the Western provinces and at least 0.5 more children than similar families in the other Atlantic provinces⁴. There are more adults per household than in the rest of Canada, and the incidence of multiple households is also greater. Not only is the size of the family an important factor in the child's home environment, but the high incidence

³From 1966 Census: Rural: 266,707
Urban Centres and Suburban Fringes: 266,689

⁴See Table in Appendix A.

of adult illiteracy⁵ presents a major handicap in providing the ideal educational environment.

Education

The educational system in Newfoundland has recently been drastically reorganised. Formerly the Department of Education was organised along denominational lines with each of the major religious groups having a denominational Superintendent of Education. Under the Department of Education Act, 1968, the Department of Education has been reorganised along functional lines. However the churches are represented on the policy-making board, and have the right to oversee the curriculum. Thus, although the part played by denominational groups in education in the province has been changed, the churches still exert an active and potent influence on education in the province. Another consequence of the Schools Act has been to reorganise the school districts. Prior to the Act there were 280 school boards. Under the reorganisation which involved the integration of the United Church, Anglican and Salvation Army School Boards, this number has been reduced to 37, distributed as follows:

20 Integrated (Anglican, United Church, Salvation Army)

15 Roman Catholic

1 Pentecostal

1 Seventh Day Adventist

The result of this is that each school board can now afford professional help which was previously not the case. Due to the geographical

⁵See Table in Appendix A.

distribution of the population in small communities, schools in Newfoundland are often small and poorly equipped, not being able to afford many of the facilities that would be available to larger schools. Previously in some small communities there existed several inadequate schools of different denominations side by side, which, if combined, would have provided a viable school unit to serve the community. There is evidence now that cooperation between the different denominations to reduce this wastage is taking place. Another major factor in the educational scene has been the shortage of adequately trained teachers. Newfoundland has the smallest percentage of university graduates among the provinces of Canada.⁶ However mainly due to the rapid expansion of Memorial University the problem of teacher shortage is being somewhat eased, and it is anticipated that the minimum educational requirements for a teacher will soon be raised.

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Memorial University was founded to honour the dead of World War I in 1925. Its status was at that time a university college. The first provincial legislature following Confederation in 1949 passed an Act giving full degree granting status to the university. In 1961 the University moved to its present site and now has a total enrollment of over 8,000, made up as follows:

⁶See Table in Appendix A.

Full Time Enrollment

1st year students	2313
2nd year students	1612
3rd year students	1006
4th year students	779
5th year students	341
Graduate	475
Part time on campus	1263
Part time off campus	1022

The population of the University is composed for the main part of students from Newfoundland. The undergraduate population is distributed by percentage as follows:

Newfoundland students	97.7%
Mainland Canada students	0.6%
Overseas students	1.7%

Of the students from Newfoundland 40% are drawn from St. John's.

III. DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

To test the hypotheses of the study information regarding the background of the students was obtained by items 1 to 8 on the questionnaire.

Table 1

Distribution of Students in the Sample by Sex

<u>Sex</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	66.7
Female	<u>33.3</u>
	100.0%

N = 300

Table 2

Distribution of Students in the Sample by Religious Denomination

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>%</u>
Anglican	29.0
Roman Catholic	35.0
United Church	26.0
Salvation Army	2.3
Pentecostal	4.7
Other	1.3
None	<u>1.7</u>
	100.0%

N = 300

The majority of students in the sample belonged to three major religious groups: Roman Catholic, United Church, and Anglican. The small number of students in the remaining groups resulted in the fact that some of the large contingency tables did not conform to Siegel's guideline to the use of the Chi Square.

When k is larger than 2 ($df < 1$) the χ^2 test may be used if fewer than 20% cells have an expected frequency of less than 5, and if no cell has an expected frequency of less than 1.⁷

However in making a decision whether to accept or reject a hypothesis of the study the smaller categories were collapsed so that the resulting contingency tables conformed to the above guideline.

Table 3

Distribution of Students in the Sample by Age

<u>Age</u>	<u>% Students</u>
16	12.0
17	41.3
18	16.3
19	9.0
20	5.3
21 - over	<u>16.0</u>
	99.9

N = 300

The relatively high proportion of students in the 21 and over category is accounted for by the abnormally high registration of part time off campus students during the academic year 1970-71.

⁷S. Siegel, Non Parametric Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 175-179.

The distribution of students in the sample with regard to community size is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Distribution of the Students in the Sample by Community Size

<u>Community Size</u>	<u>%</u>
0 - 500	18.0
501 - 1000	14.7
1001 - 5000	24.7
5001 - 10,000	8.0
Above 10,000	32.0
Out of Province	<u>2.7</u>
	100.0

N = 300

The largest single group of students fall in the "above 10,000" category. These were in the main students from St. John's.

The provincial nature of the University is noted by the presence of only 2.7% of students from out of the province.

In order to test the hypotheses relating to social class, the students were asked to furnish information about parental occupation and educational level.

Table 5

Distribution of Students in the Sample as to Occupation
of
the Head of the House

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>%</u>
Professional, Managerial	21.0
Clerical, Sales	16.0
Labor, Service and Workers	39.7
Fishing, Farming, Hunting	11.7
Unemployed	3.7
Other	3.0
No Answer	<u>5.0</u>
	100.1

N = 300

Table 6

Distribution of Students in the Sample as to the Education of Parents

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>% Mother's</u>	<u>% Father's</u>
Grade 6 or below	17.3	27.0
Some High School	38.3	29.1
High School Graduate	17.3	14.3
Post Secondary, College	15.3	9.7
University Graduate	1.0	4.0
Postgraduate	0.0	1.7
Don't Know	8.7	12.3
No Answer	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.7</u>
	99.9	99.8

N = 300

Table 6 reveals the general low level of parental education; only 33.6% of the students' mothers were high school graduates or above, and only 29.7% of students' fathers were high school graduates or above.

Following the procedure already noted to avoid low expected frequency values, categories with low frequencies were combined to form contingency tables in order to test the hypotheses relating to the educational level of the students' parents.

Chapter IV

POLITICAL EFFICACY

This chapter presents an analysis concerning the null hypotheses relating to the students' sense of political efficacy, as proposed in this study. The first section deals with the method used to determine the sense of political efficacy of the students in the sample. The second section deals with the testing of the hypotheses concerning political efficacy and the relevant demographic factors. The final section presents a summary and a discussion of the results.

I SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

One of the indices of political socialization investigated in this study is that of political efficacy, the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact on the political process¹. The development of this sense of political efficacy is obviously fundamental in determining the future political behaviour of young people. To explore the nature and extent of political efficacy as a dimension of political socialization an index of the sense of political efficacy of the first year students was obtained by their responses to three items.² The items formed questions 9a, 9c, and 9d in the questionnaire.

¹A. Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row Peterson, 1965), p. 187.

²The items were adopted from previous research.

- (a) K.P. Langton and M.K. Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States" American Political Science Review, Vol. LXII, No. 3, (1968), pp. 852-857.
- (b) D. Easton and J. Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, Vol. LXI, (1967), pp. 25-38.

(1) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.

(2) Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things.

(3) People in the government don't care much about what people like my parents think.

A 'disagree' response to each item was coded as efficacious: the scores thus obtained were grouped in four categories, each political efficacy score indicating the number of efficacious responses. Failure to answer one or more items was coded as no score.

Table 7
Political Efficacy Responses of Students

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Low 0	85	29.6
1	110	38.3
2	62	21.6
High 3	<u>30</u>	<u>10.5</u>
	287	100.0

It is apparent from Table 7 that the majority of the students felt that the individual made little or no impact on the political process; 67.9% gave only one or zero efficacious responses to the three items, and only 10% gave efficacious responses to all three items. Of the thirteen no scores eleven failed to answer the third item.

People in the government don't care much about
what people like my patents think.

Of the three items it is interesting to note that this is the only
one in which there is an implied criticism of government.

II TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

The null hypotheses in the study were tested by Chi Square
and the Chi Square value and probability level for the relevant degrees
of freedom reported.

Hypothesis A₁

Hypothesis A₁ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of boys and girls, and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The Chi Square value for Table 8 reveals that, although the observed differences are not statistically significant, males score substantially higher on the political efficacy scale.

Table 8

Association of Sex of Respondents to Sense of Political Efficacy³

Political Efficacy	% Male	% Female
0	29.1	30.4
1	35.4	42.9
2	21.7	21.4
3	13.7	5.4
Total	99.9	100.1
Number	175	112
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 5.58$	d.f = 3
		p < 0.25

The results in Table 8 were collapsed by combining the 0 and 1 scores to form a low political efficacy category, and the 2 and 3 scores to form a high political efficacy category. The resulting 2 by 2 contingency table is shown in Table 8a.

Table 8a

Reassignment of Table 8

Political Efficacy	% Male	% Female
Low	64.5	73.3
High	35.4	26.8
Total	99.9	100.1
Number	175	112
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 2.32$	d.f = 1
		p < 0.2

³All contingency tables, unless otherwise indicated, are reported in terms of column frequency.

However this further exploration of the results fails to yield a statistically significant difference: thus hypothesis A₁ is accepted.

Hypothesis A₂

Hypothesis A₂ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The contingency table resulting from the distribution of political efficacy scores with age is shown in Table 9.

The Chi Square value reveals that there are no statistically significant differences in the contingency table. Although no clear overall pattern emerges from the data, a higher percentage of students in the "20" and "21 and over" age groups obtained the maximum political efficacy score. The recent lowering of the voting age in the province to 19 has broadened the political participation of young people, consequently Table 9 was collapsed into a 2 by 2 contingency table, Table 9a, to further explore the effect of age. Political efficacy scores were assigned to high and low categories as in Table 8a. The students' responses were also classified into two categories above 19 and below 19.

Table 9

Association of Age and Sense of Political Efficacy of Students

Political Efficacy	16	17	18	19	20	21 and Over
0	23.5	34.2	22.2	42.3	6.7	30.4
1	41.2	30.8	44.4	42.3	53.3	41.3
2	26.5	23.3	28.9	11.5	20.0	13.0
3	8.8	11.7	4.4	3.8	20.0	15.3
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
Number	35	120	45	26	15	46
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 20.89$		d.f = 15		p < 0.2	

Table 9a

Reassignment of Table 9

Political Efficacy	Below 19	19 and Above
Low (0, 1)	65.5	73.6
High (2, 3)	34.5	26.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	200	87
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 1.79$	d.f = 1
		p < 0.2

The resulting table, 9a, in fact shows that students below 19 scored higher on the dichotomized political efficacy scale. However these observed differences were not statistically significant, and consequently hypothesis A₂ was accepted, the lowered voting age having no significant relationship to the students' sense of political efficacy.

Hypothesis A₃

Hypothesis A₃ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students of different religions, and those expected on the basis of proportionality. Table 10 shows the association of the religious background of students with sense of political efficacy. The largest denominational group of students in the sample are the Roman Catholic students, who appeared to be the most efficacious of the three major religious groups. Further exploration of the results by collapsing Table 10 to a 2 by 2 table, categorising students as Roman Catholic

Table 10

Association of Religious Background of Students with Sense of Political Efficacy

Political Efficacy	Anglican	Roman Catholic	United Church	Pentecostal	Other
0	37.0	22.0	33.8	23.1	25.0
1	35.8	43.0	40.3	30.8	18.7
2	17.3	20.0	22.1	38.5	37.5
3	9.9	15.0	3.9	7.7	18.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	81	100	77	13	16
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 19.90$		d.f = 12		p < 0.2

and Non Catholic, and assigning the political efficacy scores into high and low categories as in Table 8a, yielded Table 10a.

Table 10a
Reassignment of Table 10

Political Efficacy	Roman Catholic	Non Catholic
Low (0, 1)	65.0	69.5
High (2, 3)	35.0	30.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	100	187
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 0.59$	d.f = 1
		p < 0.5

However, none of the obtained Chi Square values give ground for rejecting the third hypothesis.

Hypothesis A4

Hypothesis A4 stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political efficacy scale, of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

Although as Milbraith⁴ points out socioeconomic status has three components, education, income, and occupation, it was felt that an effort to obtain a true estimate of parental income was impossible in

⁴L. Milbraith, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 115.

Table 11

Association of Occupation of Head of the House and Sense of Political Efficacy

Political Efficacy	Professional Managerial	Clerical Sales	Labour Service Workers	Fishing Farming	Unemployed	Other
0	27.1	19.1	32.1	35.3	54.5	33.3
1	32.2	40.4	37.5	47.1	36.4	44.4
2	27.1	25.5	23.2	11.8	0.0	22.2
3	13.6	14.9	7.1	5.9	9.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	59	47	112	34	11	9
N = 272	$\chi^2 = 15.63$		d.f = 15		p < 0.7	

this study. In many rural areas of Newfoundland non-cash income contributes a substantial percentage to the home economy. Thus the researcher felt it was impossible to obtain comparable information for all students, and consequently he confined the investigation to the two aspects, parental education and occupation. The subjective aspect of class was also used to explore the fourth hypothesis.

The results in Table 11 indicate that the students from homes in which the head of the house is employed in high status occupations score higher on the political efficacy scale. However the Chi Square value indicates that the differences are not highly significant. If columns 1 and 2 are collapsed to form relatively High Status Occupation and columns 3, 4, and 5 are collapsed to form Low Status Occupation, and the political efficacy scores dichotomized as before, a significant Chi Square value is obtained. It is evident that this socioeconomic indicator has a significant relationship to the sense of political efficacy of the students in the sample.

Table 11a

Reassignment of Table 11

Political Efficacy	% High Status	% Low Status
Low (0, 1)	59.4	73.9
High (2, 3)	40.6	26.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	106	157
N = 263	$\chi^2 = 6.04$	d.f = 1
		p < 0.025

Table 12

Association of Mother's Education to Sense of Political Efficacy of Students

Political Efficacy	Grade 6 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some year at College Post Secondary Training	University Graduate	Don't Know
0	33.3	33.0	26.0	31.8	0.0	16.7
1	45.8	39.3	32.0	27.3	0.0	50.0
2	14.6	21.4	30.0	18.2	66.7	20.8
3	6.2	6.2	12.0	22.7	33.3	12.5
Total	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	48	112	50	44	3	24
N = 281	$\chi^2 = 24.16$		d.f = 15		p < 0.2	

Table 13

Association of Father's Education to Sense of Political Efficacy of Students

Political Efficacy	Grade 6 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some Years at College Post Secondary Training	University Graduate	Postgraduate	Don't Know
Low 0	39.7	28.2	19.0	25.9	36.4	25.0	25.7
1	41.0	35.3	38.1	37.0	18.2	50.0	42.9
2	11.5	24.7	31.0	29.6	27.3	0.0	20.0
High 3	7.7	11.8	11.9	7.4	18.2	25.0	11.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0
Number	78	85	42	27	11	4	35
N = 282	$\chi^2 = 16.72$			d.f = 18		p < 0.7	

The results of Table 12 indicate that the mother's educational status makes a substantial contribution to the socialization process. Table 12a was obtained from Table 12 by collapsing columns 1, 2, and 3 to form low educational status and columns 4 and 5 to form high educational status and rejecting the don't knows'.

Table 12a
Reassignment of Table 12

Political Efficacy	Low Educational Status (Mother)	High Educational Status	
Low 0	33.12	27.83	
1	45.25	28.86	
2	19.37	25.77	
High 3	6.25	17.52	
Total	99.99	99.98	
Number	160	97	
N = 257	$\chi^2 = 11.49$	d.f = 3	p < 0.01

Similar data, Table 13, for father's educational status reveals no significant differences in political efficacy scores of the students. A reassignment of Table 13 by the same process as Table 12 reveals as expected no significant differences. Thus the mother's educational background appears to play a far more significant role in the socialization process as indicated by the students' sense of political efficacy.

Table 13a

Reassignment of Table 13

Political Efficacy	Low Educational Status	High Educational Status
0	30.6	28.6
1	38.1	33.3
2	21.0	26.2
3	10.3	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	205	42
N = 247	$\chi^2 = 0.74$	d.f = 3
		p < 0.9

It would appear that the mother may make the major contribution in setting the educational climate in the house. This may also be amplified by the fact that in some Newfoundland homes the father is away for long periods of time engaged in seasonal occupations, e.g. the Labrador Fishery, Churchill Falls Construction, etc.

Of the objective indicators of socioeconomic status used in the study both occupational status of the head of the house and the mother's educational background were significantly related to the sense of political efficacy, and thus in terms of these two indicators of socioeconomic background hypothesis A₄ was rejected.

Although people are usually assigned to social class or status through objective measurement, the respondents to the questionnaire were also assigned by subjective measure. In response to item 8 on the

questionnaire,

"If you had to pick a social class for yourself, would you say you are upper class, middle class, or lower class."

The responses were as follows:

Upper Class	8
Middle Class	171
Lower Class	96
N	<u>275</u>

Table 14

Association of Self Assigned Social Class
and
Sense of Political Efficacy of Students

Political Efficacy	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
0	0.0	29.2	31.3
1	37.5	35.1	43.8
2	12.5	24.6	17.7
3	50.0	11.1	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	8	171	96
N = 275	$\chi^2 = 17.70$	d.f = 9	p < 0.01

Table 14 indicates that students who assign themselves to upper and middle classes score higher on the political efficacy scale. Since to some

extent the concept of political efficacy incorporates subjective competence, the association indicated by Table 14 would be expected.

Hypothesis A₅

Hypothesis A₅ stated that there are no significant differences in the feelings of political efficacy shown by students from communities of different size.

The association of size of home community⁵ to sense of political efficacy of students is shown in Table 15. It is noted that students from communities of 5000 and above have a greater sense of political efficacy than students from smaller communities.

Table 15a

Reassignment of Table 15

Political Efficacy	Below 5000	Above 5000
0	33.7	25.4
1	42.2	30.7
2	17.5	27.2
3	6.6	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	166	114
N = 280	$\chi^2 = 13.20$	d.f = 3 p < 0.01

⁵The figures for the size of population of communities are taken from the 1966 Census.

Table 15

Association of Size of Home Community and Sense of Political Efficacy of Students

Political Efficacy	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Above 10,000	Out of Province
Low 0	36.5	30.2	33.8	30.4	24.2	0.0
1	40.4	46.5	40.8	26.1	31.9	71.4
2	19.2	16.3	16.9	34.8	25.3	28.6
High 3	3.8	7.0	8.5	8.7	18.7	0.0
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
Number	52	43	71	23	91	7
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 22.707$			d.f = 15		p < 0.1

Table 15a was formed by rejecting those students from out of the province and assigning the responses to categories 'below 5000' and 'above 5000'. The Chi Square value indicates the observed differences are highly significant and consequently, hypothesis A₅ is rejected. The students in the 'above 5000' category are in the main from the St. John's area and because of the vast cultural difference between St. John's and the rest of Newfoundland, this result would be expected. Thus hypothesis number five was rejected.

III SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The sense of political efficacy of the first year university students, as determined in this study, is generally low indicating that the students felt that the individual can make little impact on the political system. Of the background factors relating to political efficacy investigated in the study, no significant association was found for sex and political efficacy, age and political efficacy, and religion and political efficacy. The findings related to sex differences are not consistent with previous findings. Almond and Verba⁶ in their five nation study found that males developed a higher sense of political efficacy in all five nations in the study. However due to the generally low efficacy scores of all the students in this study, these expected differences are apparently minimized to be non significant. Previous research in politics indicates that the findings relating the association of the religious

⁶G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 167.

denomination of students to political efficacy are not unexpected. Generally the religious denomination of an individual has been shown to affect partisanship and candidate preference rather than other aspects of the political process.

Of the objective indicators of socioeconomic status used in the study, only two were significantly related to sense of political efficacy. The Mother's educational background was found to have a significant association with sense of political efficacy while the Father's was not, and the occupation of the head of the house was found to be significantly associated with political efficacy. These findings are generally in keeping with those in the literature which show that most indicators of socioeconomic status are significantly related to political efficacy.⁷ These results would indicate that the mother plays a determining role in the family's contribution to the political socialization process. Although "The role of women in the Power Structure of the contemporary Newfoundland family remains to be fully investigated, recent scholars who have conducted field studies in Newfoundland communities suggest that masculine authority is still dominant."⁸ However, although no exact figures are available, in many communities a tradition of separation between spouses exists during the intensive economic season. Thus such traditional industries as fishing and logging, together with seasonal constructional occupations often mean the absence of the father for a considerable period. It might be expected that in these circumstances the Mother's influence, in the political

⁷Milbraith, op. cit., p. 58.

⁸Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic State and Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador, (St. John's: Office of the Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 376.

socialization process, would be predominant. The self assigned social status was significantly related to political efficacy. This finding is expected, since it would be expected that both are related to the same personality characteristic.

Newfoundland is often described as having two cultures, the conflict between the 'townie' and the 'baymen' being part of local folklore. The student from St. John's is raised in an urban environment similar to other Canadian cities, contrasting sharply with that of rural dwellers. This difference in cultural environment is reflected in the findings that students from large communities (mainly St. John's) have a greater sense of political efficacy than students from smaller communities. This finding is in agreement with previous findings that city dwellers are more liable to develop a sense of political efficacy.

Chapter V

POLITICAL CYNICISM

This chapter presents an analysis concerning the null hypotheses relating to the students' feelings of political cynicism as proposed in this study. The first section deals with the method used to determine the feeling of political cynicism. The second section concerns the testing of the various null hypotheses relating political cynicism to the relevant demographic factors in the study. The third section examines the degree of generality of the feeling of political cynicism. The final section presents a summary of the findings.

I FEELING OF POLITICAL CYNICISM

Of particular interest to researchers in the field of politics has been political cynicism, i.e. the extent to which politics and politicians are held in disrespect.¹ Since many young people are openly expressing disrespect to the political system, it was felt that this dimension was of particular interest in the study.

The sense of political cynicism of the respondents was ascertained by answers to the following six items²:

1. In order to get nominated most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments.

¹R.E. Agger, M. Goldstein and S. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics 23: 477-506, August 1961.

²The first five items are from the scale used by Agger and Goldstein, item six was added by the researcher.

2. Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or reappointed.
3. Money is the most important factor influencing public policies.
4. People are frequently manipulated by politicians.
5. Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interests.
6. Most of the people who are in politics possess the necessary skills and competence.

The students were asked to respond to the items by 'agree', 'disagree' or 'no answer' responses. An 'agree' response to the first four items and a 'disagree' response to the last two were coded as cynical. The scores were then arranged from high to low on an index of political cynicism, based on the number of cynical replies.

Table 16
Feeling of Political Cynicism of Students

Political Cynicism	%	Number
Low 0	3.0	9
1	9.3	28
2	17.3	52
3	25.0	75
4	26.3	79
5	12.7	38
High 6	6.3	19
	99.9	300
N = 300		

From Table 16 it can be seen that the scores tend to be towards the high end of the political cynicism scale, 45.3% with a score of 4 or above and 29.6% with a score of 2 or below.

II TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Following the procedure in Chapter IV the null hypotheses in this chapter were tested by Chi Square, and the Chi Square value and probability level for the relevant degrees of freedom reported.

To ensure that the contingency tables did not contain an excessive number of frequencies below 5, the political cynicism scores were grouped 0, 1 as "low", 2, 3, 4 as "medium", 5, 6 as "high."

Table 16a

Reassignment of Political Cynicism Scores

Political Cynicism	%
Low	12.3
Medium	68.6
High	19.0
N = 300	99.9

Hypothesis B₁

Hypothesis B₁ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of boys and girls and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

The association of the sex of the students and the feeling of political cynicism is shown in Table 17.

Table 17
Association of the Sex of the Students
and
Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Male	Female
Low	13.9	10.0
Medium	68.4	69.2
High	17.8	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	180	120
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 1.23$	d.f = 2 p < 0.7

The non significant Chi Square value indicates that hypothesis B₁ is accepted; however, it is interesting to note that males appear to be slightly less politically cynical than females - 13.9% in the low category compared to 10.0% for females. The females in the sample also scored slightly more heavily in the high political cynicism category.

Hypothesis B₂

Hypothesis B₂ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism scale, of students of different ages, and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

Table 18

Association of the Age of the Students and Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	16	17	18	19	20	21 and Over
Low	16.7	12.9	16.3	0.0	6.2	12.5
Medium	55.5	70.9	67.3	70.3	81.3	68.8
High	27.7	16.2	16.3	29.6	12.5	18.8
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.1
Number	36	124	49	27	16	48
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 10.63$		d.f = 10		p < 0.5	

The age of the students and the feeling of political cynicism is shown in Table 18. There appears to be no clear pattern apparent from the table of results and the Chi Square value indicates no significant association between the age of students and feelings of political cynicism.

An interesting feature is the small number of students in the 19 and 20 age groups who fall in the low political cynicism category, 0.0 and 6.2 respectively. It would appear that these age groups are more alienated against politicians and that this is to some extent alleviated at the 21 age level, when the low political cynicism category contains 12.5%. It may be that the act of voting, which many of the 21 and over age group will have experienced removes partially this feeling of political cynicism. Following the rationale in the previous Chapter, the scores in Table 18 were dichotomised, into 'below 19' and '19 and over' in order to investigate the association of political cynicism with the lowered voting age. The resulting contingency table is shown below: Table 18a.

Table 18a

Reassignment of Table 18

Political Cynicism	Below 19	19 and Above
Low	14.4	7.7
Medium	67.5	74.4
High	18.1	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	209	91
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 2.63$	d.f. = 2 p < 0.30

Although the below 19 age group appears to be slightly less cynical, 14.4% scoring in the 'low political cynicism' category as compared to 7.7% of the 'above 19' age group, the non significant Chi Square values in Tables 18 and 18a indicate that hypothesis B₂ is accepted.

Hypothesis B₃

Hypothesis B₃ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the political cynicism Scale, of students of different religions and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of the religious denomination of the students and feelings of political cynicism are shown in Table 19. Chi Square was calculated from the contingency table for the four main religious groups.

Table 19

Association of the Religion of Students and Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Anglican	Roman Catholic	United Church	Pentecostal
Low	10.3	17.1	7.7	21.4
Medium	73.5	61.9	71.8	64.2
High	16.0	21.0	20.5	14.3
Total	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.9
Number	87	105	78	14
N = 284 $\chi^2 = 6.03$ d.f = 6 p < 0.5				

It is interesting to note that a substantially higher percentage of Pentecostal and Roman Catholic students fall in the low political cynicism category, while the Pentecostal students had the smallest percentage falling in the high political cynicism category. The results in Table 19 were further explored by dichotomizing the scores into 'Roman Catholic' and 'Non Catholic'. The resulting contingency table is shown in Table 19a.

Table 19a
Reassignment of Table 19

Political Cynicism	Roman Catholic	Non Catholic	
Low	17.1	9.7	
Medium	61.9	72.3	
High	21.0	18.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	
Number	105	195	
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 4.4$	d.f = 2	p < 0.2

The Roman Catholic students appear to be more politically trusting, 17.1% scoring in the low category, as opposed to 9.7% of Non Catholic students, however as with Table 19 the Chi Square value is non significant. Thus hypothesis B₃ is accepted.

Hypothesis B₄

Hypothesis B₄ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses on the political cynicism scale, of students from different socioeconomic background and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

The data concerning the objective indicators of socioeconomic status used in the study is shown in Tables 20, 21, and 22. None of these objective indicators of socioeconomic status yields a significant Chi Square value. An examination of the tables pertaining to mother's and father's educational level indicate no clear cut trends. The low educational category "Grade 6 and Below" exhibit slightly higher percentages in the low political cynicism category. However, this apparent trend is complicated in the "father's education" table by the high percentage of students in the "university graduate, post graduate" column who fall in the low political cynicism category, 23.5%. A comparable figure for the "mother's education" table was not available due to the low frequencies which entailed collapsing that column with the adjacent one. It is clear that no simple pattern prevails, and it may be that the observed pattern can be explained in terms of increasing the level of education. This leads to increasing economic expectation which may only be fulfilled by those obtaining university graduate status, and the resulting dissatisfaction manifests a feeling of political cynicism. Tables 20 and 21 were dichotomized in order to further explore the results. The parental education was divided into two categories, Low Educational Status (High School Graduate and below) and High Educational Status (Post Secondary Education, College and University). The resulting contingency tables are 20a and 21a.

Table 20

Association of Mother's Education with Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Grade 6 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some Years at College, Post Secondary Training	University Graduate	Don't Know
Low	17.3	12.2	9.6	12.2		7.6
Medium	65.4	69.5	75.0	63.3		76.9
High	17.3	18.3	15.3	24.5		15.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Number	52	115	52	49		26
N = 294	$\chi^2 = 4.06$		d.f = 8		p < 0.8	

Table 21

Association of Father's Education with Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Grade 7 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some Years at College, Post Secondary Training	University Graduate Post Graduate	Don't Know
Low	13.5	12.5	9.3	6.8	23.5	10.8
Medium	62.9	70.5	79.1	65.5	70.6	70.2
High	23.4	17.0	11.7	27.6	5.9	18.9
Total	99.8	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0
Number	81	88	43	29	17	37
N = 295	$\chi^2 = 9.0$		d.f = 10		p < 0.7	

Table 22

Association of Occupation of the Head of the House with Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Professional Managerial	Clerical Sales	Labor Service Workers	Fishing Farming	Unemployed	Other
Low	9.6	8.4	14.3	11.4	18.2	11.1
Medium	65.1	83.4	67.3	71.5	45.5	66.6
High	25.4	8.3	18.4	17.1	36.4	22.2
Total	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9
Number	63	48	119	35	11	9
N = 285	$\chi^2 = 10.34$		d.f = 10		p < 0.5	

Table 20a

Reassignment of Table 20

Political Cynicism	Low Educational Status	High Educational Status
Low	12.8	2.2
Medium	69.9	63.3
High	17.3	24.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	219	49
N = 268	$\chi^2 = 1.28$	d.f = 2 $p < 0.6$

Table 21a

Reassignment of Table 21

Political Cynicism	Low Educational Status	High Educational Status
Low	11.0	14.1
Medium	70.3	66.4
High	18.7	19.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	172	128
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 0.73$	d.f = 2 $p < 0.7$

In both cases the group with the higher educational status parent scored slightly higher on the political cynicism scale, however

the very low Chi Square indicate these differences are not statistically significant. The data in Table 22 again reveals no clear cut pattern however the highest occupational category has the highest percentage of "high political cynicism scores." The non significant Chi Square values in Tables 20a and 21a indicate that hypothesis B4 is accepted.

Table 23
Association of Self Assigned Social Class
to
Feeling of Political Cynicism.

	Upper Class	Working
Low	4.0	18.2
Medium	67.3	64.7
High	28.7	17.1
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 4.35$	d.f = 2
		p = 0.2

The association of self-assigned social class to feeling of political cynicism is shown in Table 23. Although a non significant Chi Square value is obtained, it is apparent that a considerably higher percentage of students who think of themselves as working class are less cynical towards politics and politicians.

Hypothesis B5

Hypothesis B5 stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses on the political cynicism scale of students from different size communities and those expected on the

Table 24

Association of Size of Home Community and Feelings of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	0 - 500	501 - 1000	1001 - 5000	5001 - 10,000	Above 10,000	Out of Province
Low	14.9	15.9	5.5	12.5	15.7	0
Medium	66.7	65.8	75.7	66.6	63.5	100.0
High	18.6	18.1	18.9	20.8	20.8	0
Total	100.2	99.8	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	74	24	96	8
N = 306	$\chi^2 = 9.79$		d.f = 10		p < 0.5	

basis of proportionality. The association of the size of the home community and feelings of political cynicism is shown in Table 24. Although students from the larger communities > 5000 score slightly above the others in the high political cynicism category, this difference is not significant. The low percentage of students in the 1001 - 5000 group who fall in the low political cynicism group is difficult to account for, particularly as a large number of settlements fall in this category. The students from the small communities appear slightly less politically cynical than the others, scoring slightly higher in the low political cynicism category. An interesting feature is the lack of polarization of the out of town students. Although admittedly a small sample, they all fell in the medium political cynicism category. The results in Table 24 were further explored by dichotomising the scores into 'below 5000' and '5001 and above' groups. The resulting contingency table is shown as 24a.

Table 24a
Reassignment of Table 24

Political Cynicism	Below 5000	5001 and Above
Low	11.0	14.1
Medium	70.3	66.4
High	19.7	19.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	172	128
N = 300	$\chi^2 = 0.73$	d.f = 2 p < 0.7

The non significant Chi Square values indicated that hypothesis B₅ is accepted.

III THE GENERALITY OF THE FEELING OF POLITICAL CYNICISM

In the initial statement of the problem of the study, it was proposed that the extent of political cynicism be determined, as well as the association of political cynicism to specific demographic factors. However it was also felt that valuable data could be obtained by exploring the association of the students' sense of political cynicism to items dealing with different levels of government. As a consequence students were asked to respond to a number of questions dealing with different levels of government: school, provincial, national and international (Items 28, 31 and 32 on the questionnaire). The association of the responses of the students, on these items, to their feelings of political cynicism are shown in Table 25.

Table 25

Association of Political Cynicism to Attitudes
on
Different Levels of Politics

"Do you think student councils or unions are necessary?"			
Political Cynicism	Yes	No	
Low	12.6	11.2	
Medium	69.8	50.5	
High	17.7	38.9	
Total	100.0	100.0	
Number	277	18	
N = 295	x ² = 4.78	d.f = 2	p < 0.1

"How much of the time do you think the government in Ottawa does what is right?"

Political Cynicism	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	None of the Time
Low	16.9	9.3	0.0
Medium	70.1	67.5	71.5
High	13.1	23.2	28.6
Total	100.1	100.0	100.1
Number	130	160	7
N = 297	$\chi^2 = 8.43$	d.f = 4	p < 0.1

"To what extent do you feel the United Nations as an international political body has succeeded in its role since it was founded?"

Political Cynicism	Very Successful	Limited Success	Failed Miserably
Low	19.4	11.1	0.0
Medium	58.2	72.2	60.0
High	22.4	16.7	40.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	67	216	15
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 10.81$	d.f = 4	p < 0.05

In each of the three items in Table 25, the more politically cynical students express dissatisfaction, while the less cynical students are satisfied. It appears that the feeling of political cynicism

as measured by the scale, applies to the levels of school, federal and international politics, as indicated by items 28, 31 and 32.

The students were asked to respond to two items which it was felt that they would regard as applying to local politics, although this was not in fact specified. The students were asked to select from a list of people those from whom they would seek advice in the event of an election.

"If you were able to vote in the next election would you seek advice from any of the following?"
(Indicate more than one choice if you wish.)

- _____ 1. Mother
- _____ 2. Father
- _____ 3. Friend
- _____ 4. Your Peers
- _____ 5. Teacher
- _____ 6. Politician
- _____ 7. No one at all

Of the 275 students replying to these items only 29 indicated they would select a politician. The association of this choice with the feeling of political cynicism is shown in Table 26.

Table 26

"Would you seek advice from a politician?"

Political Cynicism	Yes
Low	24.1
Medium	51.7
High	24.1
Total	100.0
Number	29

It is apparent that the political cynicism of the students as measured by the scale in this study does not influence the low acceptance of politicians as a source of political advice. The students in the study were also asked to respond to the following item, which again was not specific as to the level of politics.

Table 27

"If you were to join a political party which one of the following statements describes your feelings?"

Political Cynicism	Choose from Existing Party	Prefer New Party
Low	11.7	13.0
Medium	69.2	68.0
High	19.1	19.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	188	100

It is clear from the results in Table 27 that the rejection of the existing political parties by the students is not related to their feelings of political cynicism. The fact that 35% of the students would rather see a new political party indicates a large amount of dissatisfaction with the present political parties

The student's view of the role of government was solicited by their replies to item 35 on the questionnaire.

"What do you think the role of government in society should be?"

Less than half of the students in the sample answered this item, 41.7%. The answers were coded in categories. A "Paternal" response indicated that the student saw the government's role as one of essentially looking after the citizen, to provide roads, electricity, to make sure laws are obeyed. The "Responsive" category indicated that the students saw the government as being responsive to the wishes of the people. The "Cynical" category contained answers which implied a disrespectful attitude to government. A large percentage of answers fell in this category.

Table 28

"The Students View of the Role of Government"

Category	Number	%
Paternal	32	10.7
Responsive	11	3.7
Cynical	82	27.3
No Answer	175	58.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 29

Association of the Student's Concept of the Role of Government
with his
Feeling of Political Cynicism

Political Cynicism	Paternal	Responsive	Cynical
Low	22.0	36.4	12.2
Medium	71.7	45.5	47.6
High	6.3	18.1	40.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	32	11	82
N = 125	$\chi^2 = 16.23$	d.f = 4	p < 0.01

The responses to item 35 fit in with the prevailing picture of low political efficacy on the part of the students. Only 3.7% felt that the government should be responsive to the wishes of the people. There appears as would be expected a strong association between the category of response and the feeling of political cynicism. Of the students who gave 'cynical' responses, to item 35, 87.8% scored in the medium or high categories on the political cynicism scale used in the study. Thus the feeling of political cynicism appears to apply to the role of government in general.

IV SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The feeling of political cynicism of the students as measured in the study was not significantly related to any of the demographic factors investigated. The high level of political cynicism shown by the students, manifested itself in their replies to a number of items at the international, federal, and school levels of government. The students' attitudes as to the role of government, again revealed the existence of considerable cynicism among the sample.

Litt³ has suggested that political cynicism may exist as a community norm, and that consideration be given to the political milieu of the community. In Newfoundland the political scene revolves directly around personalities, and the existence of "highly visible party leaders and machines"⁴ is a fact of political life. It may well be that the existence of the high political cynicism of the students in this study, only 12.3 in the low category, may be attributable directly to this. It would be expected that a high level of political cynicism resulting from such a community norm, would tend to minimise any statistically significant associations of political cynicism with demographic factors.

Although the researcher has attempted to explain the lack of statistically significant associations between the students' feelings of political cynicism and demographic factors by the existence of a community norm, he wishes to draw attention to the possible weakness of the scale used. In future usage of the scale it is suggested that further attention be given to its construction. Attempts to apply Guttman techniques of scale construction, and an item analysis to establish the discrimination of each item, may help to improve further its reliability and validity.

³E. Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," The Journal of Politics 2: 312-323, May 1963.

⁴Ibid., p. 322.

Chapter VI

SENSE OF CITIZEN DUTY

This chapter presents an analysis concerning the null hypothesis relating to the students' sense of citizen duty as proposed in this study. The first section deals with the method used to determine the sense of citizen duty. The second section deals with the hypotheses concerning the sense of citizen duty and relevant demographic factors. The final section presents a summary and a discussion of the results.

I SENSE OF CITIZEN DUTY

According to Campbell¹ the sense of citizen duty is "the feeling that oneself and others ought to participate in the political process, regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worthwhile or efficacious." The sense of citizen duty was measured by the responses to the following four items, (questions 9b, 9d, 9f, and 9g on the questionnaire²):

(1) It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance of winning.

(2) A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

(3) So many other people vote in the federal elections that it doesn't matter whether I vote or not.

¹A. Campbell, et al, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 194.

²See Appendix B for the questionnaire.

(4) If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't bother to vote in it.

The respondents were asked to 'agree' or 'disagree' with each of the four items. A 'disagree' answer indicated a feeling of political obligation. Failure to respond to one or more items was coded no score. The students' responses were then grouped on a sense of citizen duty scale ranging from zero to four 'disagree' responses.

Table 30
Sense of Citizen Duty of Students

	%	Number
Low 0	0.3	1
1	4.3	13
2	13.7	41
3	57.0	171
High 4	24.0	72
No Score	0.7	2
Total	100.0	300

The data indicates a very high sense of political responsibility. The distribution of scores in this sample parallel closely those obtained by Struve³ in a recent study conducted in a mid western American high school.

³P. Struve, "The Political Socialization of Adolescents" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Iowa, 1963).

Item analysis of the four items in the scale produced Table 31.

Table 31
Item Analysis of Sense of Citizen Duty

Item	% Agree	% Disagree	% No Answer
1. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win.	2.5	97.5	0.0
2. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.	17.0	83.0	0.0
3. So many people vote in the federal elections that it doesn't matter to me whether I vote or not.	5.5	94.3	0.7
4. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it.	72.0	27.3	0.7

Of the four items in the scale it can be seen that in the first three the responses all measure consistently in the same direction. However in the fourth item the response pattern is reversed. It is close to twenty years since this scale was first used, and in that time attitudes of young people have altered considerably. The fact that in this study the young people felt an individual was obliged to vote only if he cared about the result is a reflection of the current philosophy of the young.

II TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Using the same procedure as was used to test the hypothesis in the previous Chapters, contingency tables were obtained and Chi Square calculated as a test of significant differences between categories.

Hypothesis C₁

Hypothesis C₁ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of boys and girls and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of the sex of the respondents and their sense of citizen duty is shown in Table 32. The two 'no scores' were omitted from the table.

Table 32

The Association of Sex of Respondents to Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	% Male	% Female
0	0.6	0.0
1	5.6	2.5
2	13.5	14.2
3	52.2	65.0
4	28.1	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	178	120
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 7.15$	d.f = 4 p < 0.2

Table 32 shows that a higher percentage of males answered all four items with a 'disagree' response. Guided by the median score of 3.06, the sense of citizen duty score dichotomized into low (0, 1, 2, and 3) and high (4). The resulting 2 by 2 contingency table is shown. This procedure is followed in testing the subsequent hypotheses in the Chapter in order to avoid small cell frequencies⁴.

Table 32a
Reassignment of Table 32

Sense of Citizen Duty	% Male	% Female
Low	71.9	81.7
High	28.1	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	178	120
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 3.70$	d.f = 1 p < 0.1

The Chi Square value obtained from Table 32a is **not** statistically significant and thus hypothesis C₁ is accepted.

Hypothesis C₂

Hypothesis C₂ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty

⁴R. Siegel, Non Parametric Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 197-200.

scale, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of sense of citizen duty of the students and age is shown in Table 33.

Table 33

The Association of Students' Age with the Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	Age					
	16	17	18	19	20	21 and Over
Low	66.6	84.6	68.7	74.1	68.7	70.8
High	33.3	15.4	31.3	25.9	31.3	29.2
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	36	123	48	27	16	48
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 9.11$			d.f = 5		$p < 0.20$

The data in Table 33 indicates that the age of students is not significantly associated with sense of citizen duty. However it is observed that the age group of 17 appears to be less politically obligated than the other age groups in the sample. Following the rationale in previous chapters the results were further explored to investigate the impact of the voting age of 19. The table was dichotomized into a 2 by 2 table, the responses being grouped into 'below 19' and '19 and above'. The resulting contingency table is shown in Table 33a.

Table 33a

Reassignment of Table 33

Sense of Citizen Duty		Below 19	Above 19
Low		77.8	71.4
High		22.2	28.6
Total		100.0	100.0
Number		207	91
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 1.38$	d.f = 1	p < 0.3

Although the 'above 19' appear to be slightly more politically obligated, the non significant Chi Square values in Tables 33 and 33a indicate that hypothesis C₂ is accepted.

Hypothesis C₃

There will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students of different religions and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of sense of citizen duty and the religious denomination of the students is shown in Table 34. There appears to be little difference in the sense of political obligation shown by the different denominational groups. Although the Salvation Army group indicate a lower sense of citizen duty than others, any conclusions about them are tempered by the small size of the group. The results in Table 34 were dichotomized to investigate specifically the largest religious group: Roman Catholic. The resulting 2 by 2 table is shown in Table 34a.

Table 34

The Association of Sense of Citizen Duty and Religious Denomination of Students

Sense of Citizen Duty	Anglican	Roman Catholic	United Church	Pentecostal	Salvation Army	Other
Low	76.7	74.3	77.9	71.4	85.7	66.6
High	23.3	25.7	22.1	28.6	14.3	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	86	105	77	14	7	9
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 1.26$		d.f = 5		p < 0.95	

Table 34a

Reassignment of Table 34

Sense of Citizen Duty		Roman Catholic	Non Catholic
Low		74.3	76.7
High		25.7	23.3
Total		100.0	100.0
Number		105	193
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 0.20$	d.f = 1	p < 0.6

The non significant Chi Square values for Tables 34 and 34a indicate no association between the religious background of the students and their sense of political obligation. The hypothesis C₃ is therefore accepted.

Hypothesis C₄

Hypothesis C₄ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty scale, of students from different socioeconomic background, and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

As in the previous chapter the objective indicators of socioeconomic status used were occupation of the head of the house and parental education. Self assigned social class was used as a subjective indicator.

The association of the occupation of the head of the house with sense of citizen duty is shown in Table 35, although a non significant Chi Square value is obtained, an interesting feature is the distribution

Table 35

Association of Occupation of Head of Household and Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	Professional Managerial	Clerical Sales	Labor Service Workers	Fishing Farming	Unemployed	Other
Low	79.0	79.2	77.1	77.1	54.5	77.8
High	21.0	20.8	22.9	22.9	45.5	22.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	62	48	118	35	11	9
N = 283	$\chi^2 = 3.47$		d.f = 5		p < 0.7	

Table 36

Association of Father's Education and Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	Grade 6 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some Years at College, Post Secondary Training	University Graduate Post Graduate	Don't Know
Low	77.8	72.4	78.6	82.8	76.5	70.3
High	22.2	27.6	21.4	17.2	23.5	29.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	81	87	42	29	17	37
N = 293	$\chi^2 = 2.22$		d.f = 5			p < 0.9

Table 37

Association of Mother's Education and Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	Grade 6 and Below	Some High School	High School Graduate	University Graduate Some Years at College, Post Secondary Training	Don't Know
Low	78.8	71.2	84.0	79.6	61.5
High	21.2	27.8	16.0	20.4	38.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	52	115	50	49	26
N = 292	$\chi^2 = 6.10$		d.f = 5		p < 0.20

of the scores in the 'unemployed' group. This group shows a greater feeling of political obligation than the others. However the size of the sample is too small to make any positive inference. The results in Table 35 were further investigated by dichotomizing the occupational categories into 'high occupational status' (professional, managerial and clerical) and 'low occupational status' (labor, service workers, fishing, farming, and unemployed). The resulting 2 by 2 table is shown in Table 35a.

Table 35a
Reassignment of Table 35

Sense of Citizen Duty	High Occupational Status	Low Occupational Status
Low	79.1	75.6
High	20.9	24.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	110	164
N = 274	$\chi^2 = 0.46$	d.f = 1
		p < 0.5

The non significant Chi Square values in Tables 35 and 35a indicate no significant association between sense of citizen duty and occupation of head of the house.

Tables 36 and 37 show the association of the students' sense of citizen duty with parental education. In both cases the results were further explored by dichotomizing the parental education into two categories, 'low status' (high school graduate and below) and 'high status'

(college, post secondary training, university graduate and postgraduate).
The resulting 2 by 2 tables are shown below in Tables 36a and 37a, in
both tables the 'don't know' scores are omitted.

Table 36a

Reassignment of Table 36

Sense of Citizen Duty	Low Educational Status	High Educational Status
Low	75.7	80.4
High	24.3	19.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	210	46
N = 256	$\chi^2 = 0.46$	d.f = 1 p < 0.5

Table 37a

Reassignment of Table 37

Sense of Citizen Duty	Low Educational Status	High Educational Status
Low	80.9	83.4
High	19.1	16.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	205	61
N = 266	$\chi^2 = 0.2$	d.f = 1 p < 0.7

The low Chi Square values in these four tables indicate a lack of association of parental education with political obligation as measured by sense of citizen duty.

The association of self assigned social class and sense of citizen duty is shown in Table 38.

Table 38

The Association of Self Assigned Social Class and Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	Upper, Middle	Working	
Low	76.9	62.7	
High	23.1	27.3	
Total	100.0	100.0	
Number	186	99	
N = 285	$\chi^2 = 0.58$	d.f = 1	p < 0.5

As in the case of objective indicators of socioeconomic class there appears to be no significant association between self assigned social class and sense of citizen duty.

In view of the non significant values of Chi Square obtained in the contingency Tables 35, 35a, 36, 36a, 37, 37a, and 38 hypothesis C₄ is accepted.

Hypothesis C₅

Hypothesis C₅ stated that there will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the sense of citizen duty

Table 39

Association of the Size of the Students Home Community and Sense of Citizen Duty

Sense of Citizen Duty	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Above 10,000	Out of Province
Low	75.9	75.0	78.1	75.0	76.8	75.0
High	24.1	25.0	21.9	25.0	23.2	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	73	24	95	8
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 0.22$		d.f = 5			p < 0.99

scale, of students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of the sense of citizen duty and the size of the students' home community is shown in Table 39. The extremely low Chi Square value indicates a complete lack of association between the student's feelings of political obligation and his community size. The results shown in Table 39 were further explored by dichotomizing the community size into 'below 5000' and '5000 and above'. The resulting 2 by 2 table is shown in Table 39a.

Table 39a
Reassignment of Table 39

Sense of Citizen Duty		Below 5000	5000 and Above
Low		59.0	58.8
High		41.0	41.2
Total		100.0	100.0
Number		222	68
N = 290	$\chi^2 = 0.01$	d.f = 1	p < 0.9

The exceptionally low Chi Square values for Tables 39 and 39a were indicative of a lack of association between the scores of the sense of citizen duty scale and the size of community. Thus hypothesis C₅ is accepted.

The Role of a Citizen

The students were asked to define their concept of a good

citizen by answering Item 34:

"What do you think an individual must do to be
a good citizen?"

This item was answered by only 34% of the students and the answers were coded in the categories shown in Table 40. The "conforming" category indicates that the student thought that being a good citizen was essentially an act of obeying the law, going to church, helping one's neighbour and respecting the leaders of the country. The "low participation" category will have included some reference to voting, and the "high participation" category a reference to a higher level of political participation, such as running for office, participating in politics or words to that effect.

Table 40
The Role of a Good Citizen

Category	%
Conforming	20.7
Low Participation	9.3
High Participation	4.0
No Answer	66.0
Total	100.0
Number	300

III SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The political obligation of the students in the sample was measured by use of the sense of citizen duty scale. The sample of students expressed a very high sense of political obligation, and it may well be that the uniformity of this attitude minimized any differences due to demographic factors. All the null hypotheses stated in Chapter VI concerning sense of citizen duty were accepted.

A significant finding in this chapter is the anomalous distribution of scores for item 4 on the sense of citizen duty scale.

"If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't bother to vote in it."

Campbell⁵ in his original description of the scale indicates that a "little less than half" of the respondents indicated a 'disagree' response, as compared to 27.5% for this sample. This difference may well be due to the change of philosophy in young people in the last twenty years, and invalidates this item in future use of the scale.

⁵Campbell, op. cit., p. 196.

Chapter VII

This chapter presents an analysis concerning the null hypotheses relating the intended political participation of the students to selected demographic factors, and to the students' feelings of political cynicism and sense of political efficacy. The chapter is in four sections: the first section presents information concerning the intended political participation of the students, and their previous participation in school government. The second section deals with the hypotheses concerning the intended participation of the students and selected demographic factors, as proposed in the study. The third section deals with the hypotheses concerning the intended participation of the students and their feelings of political cynicism and political efficacy. The final section presents a summary of the findings.

I POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SCHOOL GOVERNMENT

Although many of the students attending the university are under voting age,¹ they play an active part in the local political scene. At the Liberal Leadership Convention in 1969, students from Memorial University took an active part in the campaigning, and it can be expected that the future political leaders in Newfoundland will emerge from the University. The intended future political participation of the students was ascertained by their answers to items 16, 17, and 18 on the questionnaire. The items dealt with political activities at different levels of political involvement.²

¹The exact figures for the distribution by age of the student population, during 1969-70, were not obtainable from the Registrar's Office.

²L.W. Milbraith, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 18.

Table 41

Intended Political Participation of Students in the Sample

"Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	%
Yes	84.7
No	11.0
Don't Know	3.7
No Answer	0.7
Total	100.0
Number	300

"Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	%
Yes	48.0
No	17.3
Don't Know	33.7
No Answer	1.0
Total	100.0
Number	300

"Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	%
Yes	10.3
No	56.3
Don't Know	33.0
No Answer	0.3
Total	99.9
Number	300

The responses to the items in Table 40 indicate that although the vast majority of students in the sample were prepared to participate at the lowest level politically (84.7% intended to vote) this dropped off rapidly at the higher levels of political participation (only 10.3% were prepared to seek public office).

Voting age has received considerable attention in recent years, and the students in the sample were asked at which age they thought they should be able to vote. Table 42 indicates that two-thirds of the students felt 18 to be a suitable voting age.

Table 42a

Association of the Age of Students and the Age at Which They Think They Should Vote

At what age do you think you should be able to vote?	Age of Student					
	16	17	18	19	20	21 and Over
16 and below	5.7	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
17	11.4	2.5	8.2	3.8	0.0	2.1
18	71.4	67.2	71.4	46.2	60.0	60.4
19	11.4	18.0	10.2	30.8	26.7	14.6
20	0.0	5.7	2.0	7.7	13.3	4.2
21 and over	0.0	5.7	8.2	11.5	0.0	16.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Number	35	122	49	26	15	48
N = 295	$\chi^2 = 38.4$		d.f = 25			p < 0.05

Table 42

Age at Which Students Think They Should be Able to Vote

	%
16 or below	1.3
17	4.3
18	64.0
19	16.6
20	4.6
21 and over	7.3
No Answer	1.7
Total	99.8
Number	300

Table 42a shows the association of the age of the students and the age at which they thought they should be able to vote. The significant Chi Square value indicates a distinct association between the variables: the younger students felt that the voting age should be lower than did the older students. All of the 16 age group felt that the voting age should be 19 or below, while 20.9% of the 21 and over age group felt it should be above 19. The results in Table 42a were further explored by dichotomizing the table in two age groups 'below 19' and '19 and above'. The results are shown in Table 42b and indicate the strong desire on behalf of the younger students to be able to vote.

Table 42b

Reassignment of Table 42a

At what age do you think you should be able to vote?	Below 19	19 and Above
Below 19	75.7	59.6
19 and above	24.3	40.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	206	89
N = 295	$\chi^2 = 7.87$	d.f = 1 p < 0.01

One of the informal agencies in the process of political socialization which has received considerable attention in the literature is school government or Student Councils which many writers regard as a basic form of democratic training. The previous experience of the students in the sample was ascertained by the responses to items 26 and 27: Table 43.

Table 43

Previous Experience of the Students in the Sample in School Government

Item 26: "When you were in high school did your school have a student council (School Government)?"

	%
Yes	76.3
No	23.7
Total	100.0
Number	300

Item 27: "If your school did have a student council were you an active supporter of it?"

	%
Yes	62.1
No	37.9
Total	100.0
Number	254

Table 44 indicates that students who were active supporters of student government intended to be more active politically than those who were not active supporters. This relationship was seen to apply to all three levels of political activity.

Table 44
Association of Students Active in School Government
and
Intended Political Participation

"Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	Active in School Government	
	Yes	No
Yes	88.9	78.5
No	3.3	4.3
Don't Know	7.8	17.2
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	153	93
N = 246	$\chi^2 = 5.35$	d.f = 2
		p < 0.1

"Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	Active in School Government	
	Yes	No
Yes	57.2	35.9
No	12.5	25.0
Don't Know	30.3	39.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	152	92
N = 244	$\chi^2 = 11.86$	d.f = 2
		p < 0.01

"Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	Active in School Government	
	Yes	No
Yes	13.8	7.5
No	52.6	67.7
Don't Know	33.6	24.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	152	93
N = 245	$\chi^2 = 5.74$	d.f = 2
		p < 0.1

In many small communities schools may not be of sufficient size to warrant the formation of student councils, and it may be that students from smaller communities suffer from lack of opportunity in this form of democracy. Table 45 shows that the majority of students attending high schools without student councils were from smaller communities. This lack of opportunity to participate in a form of democratic training may inhibit the political socialization process.

Table 45
Association of Student Councils with Size of Home Community

	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Above 10,000
High Schools with Student Councils	50.0	59.1	81.1	79.2	94.8
High Schools without Student Councils	50.0	40.9	18.9	20.8	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	74	24	96
N = 292	x = 43.11		d.f = 4		p < 0.01

II POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The relationship of the intended political participation to the factors of age and community size were explored in the study.

Hypothesis D₁

Hypothesis D₁ stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation

investigated in this study, of students of different ages and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

Table 46
Association of Age of Students and Items
Relating to Intended Political Participation

Item 16: "Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	16 and Below	17	18	19	20	21 and Above
Yes	100.0	83.9	79.6	77.8	81.3	89.1
No	0.0	4.8	6.1	0.0	12.5	0.0
Don't Know	0.0	11.3	14.3	22.2	6.2	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	36	124	49	27	16	46
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 17.85$		d.f = 10		p < 0.1	

Item 17: "Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	16 and Below	17	18	19	20	21 and Above
Yes	5.6	8.9	10.4	18.5	6.2	14.6
No	61.1	58.1	64.6	44.4	62.5	45.8
Don't Know	33.3	33.1	25.0	37.0	31.3	39.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N = 299	$\chi^2 = 8.1$		d.f = 10		p < 0.5	

Item 18: "Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	16 and Below	17	18	19	20	21 and Above
Yes	65.7	44.7	40.8	51.9	62.5	46.8
No	11.4	20.3	12.2	14.8	12.5	23.4
Don't Know	22.9	35.0	46.9	33.3	25.0	29.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	35	123	49	27	16	47
N = 297	$\chi^2 = 11.54$		d.f = 10		p < 0.3	

Table 46 reveals no clear cut patterns existing between the age of the students and their intended political participation, although the extremes of the age limits appear more committed in their answers to items 16, 17, and 18 and the 18,19 age groups contain more "don't knows;" this effect is not apparent in the third item. The results in Table 46 were further explored by grouping the ages of the student into three groups: 16 and 17, 18 and 19, and 20, 21 and above. The results are shown in Table 46a.

Table 46a

Reassignment of Table 46

Item 16: "Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	16, 17	18, 19	20, 21 and Above
Yes	87.5	79.3	89.1
No	3.8	5.4	0.0
Don't Know	8.7	15.3	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	160	92	46
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 5.04$	d.f = 4	p < 0.3

Item 17: "Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	16, 17	18, 19	20, 21 and Above
Yes	49.4	44.7	60.3
No	18.4	13.2	24.5
Don't Know	32.2	42.1	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	158	76	53
N = 287	$\chi^2 = 6.09$	d.f = 4	p < 0.2

Item 18: "Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	16, 17	18, 19	20, 21 and Above
Yes	8.1	13.3	12.5
No	58.8	57.3	50.0
Don't Know	33.1	29.4	37.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	160	75	64
N = 299	$\chi^2 = 2.99$	d.f = 4	p < 0.20

As with Table 46, the results in Table 46a do not indicate any clear patterns or significant associations hence hypothesis D₁ is accepted.

Hypothesis D2

Hypothesis D2 stated that there will be no significant difference between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of students from different size communities and those expected on the basis of proportionality.

Table 47

Association of Size of Home Community of Students and Items

"Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Over 10,000	Out of Province
Yes	85.2	88.6	83.6	83.3	84.2	100.0
No	3.7	4.5	2.7	4.2	4.2	0.0
Don't Know	11.1	6.8	13.7	12.5	11.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	73	24	95	8
N = 298	x ² = 3.08		d.f = 10		p < 0.98	

"Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Over 10,000	Out of Province
Yes	46.3	52.3	48.6	45.8	46.3	75.0
No	24.1	15.9	18.1	25.0	13.7	0.0
Don't Know	29.6	31.8	33.3	29.2	40.0	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	72	24	95	8
N = 297	x ² = 7.575		d.f = 10		p < 0.7	

"Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	0-500	501-1000	1001-5000	5001-10,000	Above 10,000	Out of Province
Yes	5.6	11.4	6.8	4.2	16.8	12.5
No	61.1	43.2	56.8	58.3	58.9	62.5
Don't Know	33.3	45.5	36.5	37.5	24.2	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	54	44	72	24	95	8
N = 297	$\chi^2 = 13.54$		d.f = 10		p < 0.2	

Table 47 shows the association of the intended political participation of the students and the size of their home communities. The Chi Square values indicate that no significant association between the variables exists. One point of interest was the large number of students from communities above 10,000 who were prepared to seek public office (16.5%). The results in Table 47 were further explored, by dichotomizing the responses into 'below 5000' and 'above 5000' groups and rejecting the "Out of Province". These results are shown in Table 47a.

Table 47a

Reassignment of Table 47

Item 16: "Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"

	Below 5000	Above 5000
Yes	85.4	84.0
No	3.5	4.2
Don't Know	11.1	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	171	119
N = 290	$\chi^2 = 0.1$	d.f = 2
		p < 0.95

Item 17: "Would you be prepared to be an active worker in a political campaign?"

	Below 5000	Above 5000
Yes	48.4	46.2
No	19.4	18.0
Don't Know	32.2	35.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	170	119
N = 289	$\chi^2 = 1.68$	d.f = 2
		p < 0.5

Item 18: "Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	Below 5000	Above 5000
Yes	7.6	14.2
No	54.6	58.8
Don't Know	37.8	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	170	119
N = 289	$\chi^2 = 5.78$	d.f = 2 $p < 0.1$

However the results in Table 47a yield no significant associations and consequently hypothesis D₂ is accepted.

III POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND THE FEELINGS OF POLITICAL CYNICISM AND POLITICAL EFFICACY

The association of the feelings of political efficacy and political cynicism to the intended political participation of the students was investigated in this study.

Hypothesis E₁

Hypothesis E₁ stated that there will be no significant differences between the observed responses, on the dimensions of participation investigated in this study, of students exhibiting different feelings of political efficacy and those expected on the basis of proportionality. Table 48 presents the association of the feelings of

political efficacy to the intended political participation of the students. In each of the three items a strong trend is discerned indicating that students with high political efficacy scores show more interest in future political participation. In each of the three items a statistically significant Chi Square value is obtained, and thus hypothesis E₁ is rejected.

Table 48
Association of the Students' Feeling of Political Efficacy
and
Their Intended Political Participation

"Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"				
	Political Efficacy			
	Low 0	1	2	High 3
Yes	79.8	82.6	93.5	96.7
No	2.4	6.4	0.0	3.3
Don't Know	17.9	11.0	6.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	84	109	62	30
N = 285	$\chi^2 = 14.6$		d.f = 6	p < 0.05

"Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	Political Efficacy			
	Low 0	1	2	High 3
Yes	38.1	51.9	53.2	63.3
No	19.0	23.1	8.1	10.0
Don't Know	42.9	25.0	38.7	26.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	84	109	62	30
N = 285	$\chi^2 = 15.4$	d.f = 6	p < 0.02	

"Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	Political Efficacy			
	Low 0	1	2	High 3
Yes	9.4	6.4	11.3	30.0
No	51.8	66.1	48.4	46.7
Don't Know	38.8	27.5	40.3	23.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	85	109	62	30
N = 286	$\chi^2 = 19.33$	d.f = 6	p < 0.01	

Hypothesis E₂

Hypothesis E₂ stated that there will be no significant differences between the observed responses on the dimensions of participation, investigated in this study of students exhibiting different feelings of political cynicism, and those expected on the basis of proportionality. The association of the intended political participation of the students to their feeling of political cynicism is shown in Table 49. In the first two items the more cynical students express less interest in participating politically. However the obtained Chi Square values are statistically non significant and hypothesis E₂ is accepted.

Table 49

Association of the Feeling of Political Cynicism
and
the Intended Political Participation of the Students

"Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age?"			
	Political Cynicism		
	Low	Medium	High
Yes	91.9	87.3	73.6
No	0.0	3.4	7.0
Don't Know	8.1	9.3	19.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	37	204	57
N = 298	$\chi^2 = 7.43$	d.f = 4	p < 0.2

"Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?"

	Political Cynicism		
	Low	Medium	High
Yes	61.1	49.0	38.6
No	11.1	16.7	24.6
Don't Know	27.8	34.3	36.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	36	204	57
N = 297	$\chi^2 = 5.4$	d.f = 4	p < 0.3

"Would you be prepared to seek public office?"

	Political Cynicism		
	Low	Medium	High
Yes	8.1	11.2	8.8
No	45.9	56.1	64.9
Don't Know	45.9	32.7	26.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0
Number	37	205	57
N = 299	$\chi^2 = 4.52$	d.f = 4	p < 0.5

IV SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter presented an analysis of the findings concerning the intended political participation of the students. The intentions of the students at different levels of political participation were determined and the association of this intended political participation to previous experience in school government, selected demographic factors, and to the feelings of political efficacy and cynicism was determined. The majority of students in the sample attended schools which possessed a student council or government. A significant association was found to exist between those students declaring themselves as active supporters of their student council and those who intended to be more politically active. No association was discovered between the size of community and political participation and age and political participation and thus hypotheses D₁ and D₂ were accepted. A significant association was found to exist between political efficacy and intended political participation. The more efficacious students expressed greater interest in future political participation, and thus hypothesis E₁ was rejected. No significant association was discovered between the students' feelings of political cynicism and political participation and thus hypothesis E₂ was accepted, although it was noted that the more cynical students expressed less interest in participating politically than the more trusting students.

Chapter VIII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the problem which was investigated, the methodology employed and the findings resulting from the testing of the nineteen null hypotheses. The findings are discussed in four sections corresponding to the four in the study. Finally some conclusions and recommendations for further study are presented.

I SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study was designed for the purpose of exploring the political socialization of a sample of first year university students at Memorial University, and to relate this political socialization to selected demographic factors. In this way it was hoped to gain insight into the factors contributing to political behaviour of students within the university.

Four indicators of the degree of political socialization were investigated, all of which have received considerable attention in the literature on political socialization. First, political efficacy, the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact on the political process. Secondly, the sense of citizen duty, the feeling that oneself and others ought to participate in the political process, regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worthwhile or efficacious. Thirdly, political cynicism, the extent to which

politics and politicians are held in disrepute and finally the intended political participation of the students in the sample. The study concerned itself with an investigation of these aspects of political socialization and their association with the demographic factors age, sex, religion, socioeconomic status and community size.

To determine the extent of political socialization of the first year students a questionnaire was administered during normal lecture time to 892 first year students, from these a random sample of 300 was selected. The data obtained from the questionnaire was used to test the nineteen null hypotheses stated in the study.

Summary of Findings relating to the Students' Feeling of Political Efficacy

The political efficacy of the students in the study was generally low, only 32.1% falling in the top two categories of the four point scale. Hypotheses A₁, A₂, A₃, A₄ and A₅ were concerned with the association of the students' feeling of political efficacy to selected demographic factors. The sense of political efficacy was found to be related significantly to a number of measures of socioeconomic status, both the occupation of the head of the house and mother's educational level were found to be significantly associated with the sense of political efficacy, the more efficacious students coming from households in the upper socioeconomic class. The sense of political efficacy was also found to be significantly associated with community size. Students from the larger communities (above 5000) were found to be more politically efficacious than students from smaller communities. These students were

in the main from St. John's and are raised in an urban environment which contrasts sharply with that experienced by students from smaller communities. None of the other factors yielded a statistically significant Chi Square, although males appeared to be more efficacious than females, and Roman Catholics were more efficacious than non Catholics.

Summary of Findings Relating to the Students' Feeling of Political Cynicism

The feeling of political cynicism of the students in the sample was generally high, 45.3% scoring in the upper three categories as compared to 29.6% in the lower three categories on the seven point scale of political cynicism. Hypotheses B₁, B₂, B₃, B₄ and B₅ were concerned with the association of the students' feeling of political cynicism with selected demographic factors. No statistically significant relationships were found concerning these five null hypotheses. The association of the feeling of political cynicism of the students to their responses on a number of items at different political levels were obtained. The feeling of political cynicism appeared general to all levels of politics.

The general high level of political cynicism without any associated demographic factors may well be explained in terms of a community norm. Litt has suggested that the existing political milieu may be a contributing factor to the establishment of such a norm.¹

¹E. Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," The Journal of Politics 2: 312-323, May, 1963.

Summary of Findings Relating to the Students' Sense of Citizen Duty

The students' feeling of political obligation as measured by the sense of citizen duty scale was high, 81% scoring in the top two categories of the five point scale. This parallels closely recent findings by Struve² using this scale. Hypotheses C₁, C₂, C₃, C₄ and C₅ were concerned with the association of the students' sense of citizen duty to selected demographic factors. No statistically significant associations were found, although males had a higher sense of political obligation than females. (Chi Square gave $p < 0.1$)

An item analysis of the scale indicates a different response pattern from when it was originally used³. This may well reflect a change in the philosophy of young people towards political obligation.

Summary of Findings Related to the Intended Political Participation of the Students

The intended political participation of the students in the sample at different levels of political involvement was determined. Although 84.7% of the students in the sample intended to vote, only 10.3% were prepared to run for public office. The previous experience of the students in the sample, in school government, was determined. A significant association was found between intended political participation and previous experience in school government. Those students who declared themselves as active supporters of school government showed more interest in

²P. Struve, "The Political Socialization of Adolescents" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Iowa, 1963).

³A. Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 194.

political involvement at higher levels.

Hypotheses D_1 and D_2 were concerned with the association of the intended political participation of the students to the factors of age and community size. The absence of significant Chi Square values indicated no association between the variables, although it is apparent that students from communities above 10,000 were more prepared to stand for public office. Hypotheses E_1 and E_2 concerned the association of students' intended participation in future political activity, with their feelings of political efficacy and political cynicism. A significant association was found to exist between the students' feelings of political efficacy and their intended participation: the more efficacious students expressing greater interest in political activity. No statistically significant association was found between the feeling of political cynicism and future political activity. An analysis of the contingency tables reveals that the more cynical students show less interest in participating politically. However the maximum Chi Square values obtained gave $p < 0.2$.

III CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the degree to which a group of first year students had accepted the norms and behaviour of our political system, and the relationship of the various indices of political socialization used in the study to some of the demographic factors of the student population. If the ideal final product of the political socialization process is an individual who feels the need to

participate in the government of his community, and who sees that such participation is efficacious, then the political socialization process as it applies to these students is incomplete.

Generally the students in the sample expressed low political efficacy and high political cynicism, both of which factors appeared inhibitory to the intention to participate politically. The feeling of political efficacy was found to be significantly associated with socio-economic class and also community size. Consequently it may be expected that as the general standard of education rises and the degree of isolation of the smaller communities diminishes, the feeling of political efficacy of future students will rise. Thus educational administrators, may expect to be faced in the future with demands, on the part of students, for a greater share of decision making powers.

No significant associations were discovered in this study between the feeling of political cynicism and demographic factors. This feeling of political cynicism was a general one exhibited in items applying to all levels of government. It may in part be due to the general dissatisfaction that young people today express against the establishment system, or again it may be due to the political milieu which characterizes Newfoundland. Since Newfoundland, by virtue of its geographic position, remains isolated from the mainstream of Canadian politics the main political impact is at the provincial level. However provincial politics in Newfoundland remain essentially organized around individuals rather than policies, and past Newfoundland political history

is full of allegations of political corruption. If the existence of the feeling of political cynicism exhibited by the students, in this study, is in fact due to the political milieu of Newfoundland, then it is hard to foresee any change in the immediate future.

Although the role of the school in the political socialization process was not investigated directly in this study, it was discovered that students who were active in school government were also more politically efficacious and expressed greater interest in participating politically. The school may thus be seen as playing a key part in the political socialization process, if emerging students are to seek a more politically responsible role in the Newfoundland society. The students from small communities in general appeared to have been denied the opportunity of taking part in school government. It may well be that the centralization that has taken place in the Newfoundland educational system, with the abolition of the large number of small unviable school boards, will lead to the amalgamation of small schools, and enhance the opportunity for students to participate in school democracy.

It was noted at the outset of the study that one of the factors limiting the generalizability of the study was that the sample used was not representative of the first year population of the university. Neither of course can the sample be regarded as representative of young people in the province, and these factors must be considered in drawing conclusions from the data.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. The role of the school in the political socialization process should be studied in more detail. The areas of school government and the effect of social studies courses appear to be the foci of further studies.
2. In a province where there is such a disparity in the accessibility of communities to the media of communication, the impact of the media on the political socialization process suggests itself as a possibility for an area of further study.
3. The students in this study fell into three main religious groups, and although some differences appeared, mainly between Roman Catholics and others, these differences were not significant. A further study carried out with school students of different religions, perhaps extending it to include the Pentecostal and Seven Day Adventist students, who have their own school boards, may yield significant results.
4. The noted high level of political cynicism in this study has in part been attributed to the political milieu of Newfoundland. To test this hypothesis the instrument could be administered to a similar sample of students as part of a cross cultural study in Canada.
5. The lack of significant differences in this study, as shown in the association of political cynicism, and political obligation to demographic factors, may in part be attributable to weaknesses in the construction of the scales. In future research using these scales further consideration should be given to the scale construction techniques in an effort to strengthen these criterion measures.

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APPENDIX A

Tables Pertaining to Family Size and Literacy
in
Newfoundland

Table 1
Percentages of Illiterates, Functional Illiterates,¹
and University Education, in the Atlantic Provinces, 1961

	% Illiterate	% Functionally Illiterate	% Illiterate or Functionally Illiterate	% University Educated
Newfoundland	8.1	18.4	26.4	3.1
Prince Edward Island	3.4	6.4	9.8	4.2
Nova Scotia	4.2	6.7	10.9	5.0
New Brunswick	5.0	10.7	15.7	4.5
Canada	2.8	8.0	10.8	6.0

Source: Derived from 1961 Census. Percentages are based on the population 6 years and over not at school. In the census, the terms "no schooling" and "less than five years schooling" are used instead of "illiterate" and "functionally illiterate."

¹Tables 1 and 2 were derived by H.W. Kitchen and quoted in "A Preliminary Study of Demographic and Socio-Economic Factors in the Atlantic Provinces and Their Relationships to Measures of Educational Output" (The Atlantic Development Board, 1968), pp. 4, 6.

Table 2

Differences in Family Size Among the Provinces of Canada, 1961

	% Households with Two or More Families	Persons per Household	Children per Family	Extra Persons per Household
Canada	3.7	3.9	1.9	-
Newfoundland	7.5	5.0	2.7	.3
Prince Edward Island	5.0	4.2	2.2	-
Nova Scotia	4.8	4.0	2.0	-
New Brunswick	4.6	4.4	2.3	.1
Quebec	3.3	4.2	2.2	-
Ontario	4.6	3.7	1.6	-
Manitoba	3.1	3.7	1.7	-
Saskatchewan	1.9	3.6	1.8	-.2
Alberta	2.1	3.7	1.8	-.1
British Columbia	2.3	3.4	1.6	-.2

Source: Derived from 1961 Census. "Extra Persons per Household" refers to persons other than one average family of two parents plus children.

APPENDIX B
Questionnaire

- 137 -
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How old are you?

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| _____ 1) less than 16 | _____ 5) 19 |
| _____ 2) 16 | _____ 6) 20 |
| _____ 3) 17 | _____ 7) 21 and over |
| _____ 4) 18 | |

2. What is your sex?

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| _____ 1) Male | _____ 2) Female |
|---------------|-----------------|

3. Where have you lived the greatest length of time between the ages of 7 to 15?

.....

4. To which religious denomination do you belong?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ 1) Anglican | _____ 5) Salvation Army |
| _____ 2) Roman Catholic | _____ 6) Other, specify |
| _____ 3) United Church | _____ |
| _____ 4) Pentecostal | _____ 7) None |

5. What is the main job (work) of the head of the household. (Please BE SPECIFIC) If unemployed, or retired, please state what would be or was his main job.

6. Which of the following represents the highest level of educational attainment of your mother? Circle the appropriate answer.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| _____ 1) Grade 6 or below | _____ 5) Post Secondary Professional Training |
| _____ 2) Some High School | |
| _____ 3) High School Graduate | _____ 6) University Graduate |
| _____ 4) Some years at College | _____ 7) Post Graduate |
| | _____ 8) Don't Know |

7. Which of the following represents the highest level of educational attainment of your father? Circle the appropriate answer.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| _____ 1) Grade 6 or below | _____ 5) Post Secondary Professional Training |
| _____ 2) Some High School | |
| _____ 3) High School Graduate | _____ 6) University Graduate |
| _____ 4) Some years at College | _____ 7) Post Graduate |
| | _____ 8) Don't Know |

8. If you had to pick a social class for yourself, would you say you are upper class, middle class, or lower class?

- _____ 1) Upper Class
_____ 2) Middle Class
_____ 3) Lower class

- 9-13. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- (a) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.

- _____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (b) It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (c) Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can have any say about how the government runs things.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (d) A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (e) People in the government don't care much about what people like my parents think.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (f) So many other people vote in the Federal elections that it won't really matter much whether I vote or not.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (g) If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't both to vote in it.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (h) If a communist were legally elected to some public office around here, the people should allow him to take office.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

- (i) If a person wanted to make a speech in this country against religion he should be allowed to do so.

_____ 1) agree _____ 2) disagree

(j) Canadian Immigration laws should screen out undesirable races.

_____ 1) agree

_____ 2) disagree

14. Read each statement carefully. Then indicate whether you agree or disagree by checking () the appropriate column.

Agree Disagree No Opinion

(a) In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments.

(b) Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected, or reappointed.

(c) Money is the most important factor influencing public policies.

(d) People are frequently manipulated by politicians.

(e) Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent social interests.

(f) Most of the people who are in politics possess the necessary skills and competence.

15. At what age do you think you should be able to vote? _____

16. Will you vote in elections when you reach voting age? _____

17. Would you be prepared to seek public office?

_____ 1) yes _____ 2) no _____ 3) don't know

18. Would you be prepared to be an active worker to help a candidate during a political campaign?

_____ 1) yes _____ 2) no _____ 3) don't know

19-25. If you were able to vote in the next election would you seek advice from any of the following? Indicate more than one choice if you wish.

 1) Mother

 2) Father

 3) Friend

 4) Your peers

 5) Teacher

6) Politician

 7) No one at all

26. When you were at High School did your school have a Student Council (student government)?

_____ 1) yes _____ 2) no

27. If your school did have a student council, were you an active supporter of it?

 1) yes 2) no

28. Do you feel Student Councils or Student Unions are necessary?

 1) yes 2) no

29. To what extent did you have organized discussions on politics at school?

- _____ 1) Often
- _____ 2) Seldom
- _____ 3) Never

30. If you were to join a political party which one of the following statements describes your feelings. Check only one of the following.

- _____ 1) Choose one of the existing parties (Do not name the party).
- _____ 2) Prefer to see a new party formed.

31. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Ottawa to do what is right?

- _____ 1) Most of the time
- _____ 2) Some of the time
- _____ 3) None of the time

32. To what extent do you feel the United Nations as an international political body has succeeded in its role since it was founded?

- _____ 1) Failed miserably
- _____ 2) Limited success
- _____ 3) Very successful

33. Do you feel the United Nations is an obsolete political body in its ability to play an effective role in maintaining world peace?

- _____ 1) yes
- _____ 2) no

34. What do you think an individual must do to be a good citizen?

35. What do you think the role of Government in society should be?



